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Something old, something new: Heterosexual students' opinions on same-sex marriage

by

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Declaration:

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

This study is an exploration of the opinions of heterosexual law students (n=44) at the University of Cape Town on the legalisation of same-sex marriage. Three distinct perspectives are identified by means of Q methodology and are compared with respondents' scores on the short form of the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG-S). The three positions represent: a) unequivocal support for the legalisation of same-sex marriage founded on the principles of equality and human rights; b) strong religious and moral opposition to the legalisation of same-sex marriage; and c) support for the provision of domestic partnership (rather than marriage) for same-sex couples. Closer analysis reveals that each position comprises two discrete sets of responses – views on the institution of marriage and responses to homosexuality – that interact in particular ways to inform respondents' opinions on same-sex marriage. In this sample, support for the legalisation of same-sex marriage is predicated on more positive attitudes toward homosexuality and openness to changing the institution of marriage. Opposition to same-sex marriage is founded on religious and conservative condemnation of homosexuality and fixed notions of the meaning of marriage. Advocates of domestic partnerships support the rights and well-being of homosexuals, but view marriage as a heterosexual institution that should remain closed to lesbian and gay couples. Based on the findings, it is argued that improving attitudes toward homosexuality would create more positive responses to the legal recognition of same-sex relationships but would not necessarily increase support for the legalisation of same-sex marriage. It is asserted that same-sex marriage is an important issue in the fight for lesbian and gay equality and, more significantly, one that could contribute to the mental health of lesbians and gay men.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	iii
TABLE OF FIGURES	v
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 European and North American Trends in Recognising Same-sex Relationships.....	3
1.2 Same-sex Relationships in Southern Africa.....	5
1.3 Contextualising the Current Research.....	7
2 THEMES IN THE LITERATURE ON SAME-SEX MARRIAGE.....	8
2.1 Religious Beliefs.....	9
2.2 Legal & Human Rights Discourses.....	12
2.2.1 <i>The Registered Partnership Alternative</i>	15
2.3 Conservative / Normative Perspectives.....	16
2.4 Radical / Transformative Theories.....	20
2.5 Constructions of Family & the Best Interests of Children.....	24
2.6 Cultural Beliefs & Norms.....	31
2.7 Responses to Homosexuality & Views on Marriage.....	33
2.8 Studies on Attitudes Toward Homosexuals.....	34
2.9 Aims of the Study.....	39
3 METHOD	41
3.1 Selecting a Methodology.....	41
3.2 Q Methodology.....	42
3.3 The Q Sample.....	43
3.3.1 <i>Designing the Q Sample</i>	44
3.3.2 <i>Checking the Validity of the Q Sample</i>	45
3.4 The Q Sort.....	46
3.4.1 <i>Testing the Q Sort</i>	48
3.5 Selecting the Person-Sample (P-Set).....	48
3.6 Participants.....	49

3.7	Materials.....	50
3.8	Procedure.....	52
3.8.1	Administering the Q Sort.....	52
3.9	Ethical Considerations.....	53
3.10	Analysis of the Q Sort Data.....	54
3.11	Factor Interpretation.....	56
4	RESULTS	58
4.1	Statistical Results.....	58
4.2	Factor A.....	61
4.3	Factor B.....	66
4.4	Factor C.....	70
4.5	Factor –A.....	77
4.6	Factor Groupings.....	78
4.7	Demographic Data.....	80
4.8	Attitudes Toward Lesbians & Gay Men Scale - Short Form.....	81
5	DISCUSSION	84
5.1	Unequivocal Support for Same-sex Marriage.....	84
5.2	Strong Religious Opposition to Same-sex Marriage.....	87
5.3	The Domestic Partnership Alternative.....	90
5.4	Conclusions.....	92
5.5	Limitations of the Study.....	95
5.6	Recommendations for Future Research.....	98
	REFERENCE LIST	99
	APPENDICES	113
	Appendix 1: Operand Definitions of the Q Sample Perspectives.....	114
	Appendix 2: Complete List of Q Sample Statements.....	115
	Appendix 3: Sample Answer Sheet Including ATLG-S.....	118
	Appendix 4: Technical Procedures of Q Methodology.....	121
	Appendix 5: Q Sort Loadings on Rotated Factors.....	128
	Appendix 6: Final Q Sample Structure & Statements with Factor Array Scores.....	129
	Appendix 7: Factor Loadings with Demographic Data & ATLG-S Scores.....	132

TABLE OF FIGURES

Table 3.1:	Factorial Design of Same-sex Marriage Q Sample.....	45
Table 3.2:	Examples of Q Sample Statements.....	46
Figure 3.1:	Same-sex Marriage Q Sort Distribution.....	47
Table 3.3:	Sample of Factor Arrays for Opinions on Same-sex Marriage.....	56
Table 4.1:	Eigenvalues for Unrotated Factors.....	59
Figure 4.1:	Graph of Factor Eigenvalues.....	59
Figure 4.2:	Proportional Representations of the Factors by the P set.....	60
Table 4.2:	Centrality of the Human and Legal Rights Position in the Factor A Array....	62
Table 4.3:	Rejection of the Conservative Position in the Factor A Array	63
Table 4.4:	Arguments for the Protection of Children in the Factor A Array.....	64
Table 4.5:	Beliefs about Homosexuality, Marriage and Social Change in the Factor A Array.....	65
Table 4.6:	The Conservative Religious Position in the Factor B Array.....	66
Table 4.7:	The Defence of Traditional Marriage in the Factor B Array.....	68
Table 4.8:	The Gay Rights Anomalies in the Factor B Array.....	70
Table 4.9:	Most Important Items in the Factor C Array.....	71
Table 4.10:	Rejecting Negative Stereotypes of Homosexuality in the Factor C Array.....	72
Table 4.11:	The Position Against Conservative Arguments in the Factor C Array.....	73
Table 4.12:	Concern for the Well-being of Lesbians and Gay Men in the Factor C Array.....	75
Table 4.13:	The Anti Same-sex Marriage Position in the Factor C Array.....	76
Table 4.14:	Gender Representation.....	80
Table 4.15:	Racial Representation.....	80
Table 4.16:	Religious Affiliation.....	81
Table 4.17:	Exposure to Homosexuals.....	81
Table 4.18:	Attitudes Toward Homosexuality.....	82

1 INTRODUCTION

Marriage is essentially a legal contract between two people that is sanctioned by the state and may be blessed within a religious community. However, the social significance of marriage cannot be overestimated. Marriage confers legal benefits but it also represents the ultimate social acknowledgement of relationships. Marriage expresses cultural constructions of kinship and is intimately bound up with notions of family and childcare. And marriage reinforces religious notions of the centrality of heterosexuality. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that marriage is a protective factor for physical well-being and mental health (Cochran, 2001), especially among men (Townsend, 1998).

The mental health implications of denying such an important social institution to lesbians and gay men have not been fully explored. There is a growing body of evidence that suggests that lesbians and gay men are generally more vulnerable to mental health problems than their heterosexual counterparts, as a result of the social stigma attached to homosexuality (Cochran, 2001; Cochran, Sullivan & Mays, 2003; Hershberger & D'Augelli, 1995). In addition, many lesbians and gay men experience the impact of this stigma from a young age. Homosexual youth are often exposed to peer and parental abuse as a result of their sexual orientation, and they are thus more vulnerable than heterosexual youth to suicidality and other mental health difficulties (Cochran, 2001; Hershberger & D'Augelli, 1995; Lebson, 2002). Important protective factors for the mental health of lesbian and gay youth include family support and a positive self-concept (Hershberger & D'Augelli, 1995). However, negative societal responses to homosexuality compromise parental support for their homosexual children and undermine the development of a positive identity among homosexual youth (Goldfried, 2001).

The difficulties experienced by lesbian and gay youth indicate the potential for the early onset of mental health difficulties, especially affective, anxiety and substance use disorders, amongst lesbians and gay men. Some studies have demonstrated that gay men exhibit a significantly greater incidence of major depression and panic disorders than heterosexual men, while many more lesbians than heterosexual women experience generalised anxiety disorders and substance use problems (Cochran, 2001; Cochran, Sullivan & Mays, 2003).

The difficulty of a minority sexual orientation status is likely to be compounded by the fact that most lesbians and gay men are denied access to key life events, such as getting married and starting a family, that embody the norms of heterosexual society (Cochran, 2001). This does not prevent lesbian and gay couples from cohabiting, building a life together and even creating families. However, the lack of legal and social recognition of same-sex relationships signifies a lack of legal protection for the rights of these couples and also reinforces the fact that homosexuality remains stigmatised in society.

There is evidence that most lesbians and gay men value the marital ideals of love, commitment, monogamy and family life, and would choose to marry if same-sex marriage were legalised (Stiers, 1998). The legalisation of same-sex marriage would ensure the equal treatment of these couples in the law. It would also signify the validation of same-sex relationships as equivalent to heterosexual relationships. The ramifications of this level of social and legal recognition of lesbian and gay relationships are potentially enormous.

Notably, this is likely to begin the process of eliminating the social stigma attached to homosexuality which could ultimately improve the mental health and well-being of lesbians and gay men in society.

The extension of marriage to same-sex couples would signify radical shifts in understandings of marriage and the family. Consequently, although the rights of same-sex couples are increasingly being recognised in many different contexts, the issue of same-sex marriage remains highly contentious. To date, the Netherlands is the only country in the world that has legalised same-sex marriage, although the option of same-sex registered (or domestic) partnership is more widely available. This alternative provides legal recognition for gay relationships but does not accord the full range of legal benefits and duties available to married couples.

An overview of the status of same-sex couples in Europe and North America provides an indication of the legal position of same-sex couples internationally. This is contrasted with the overt oppression of homosexuals in much of southern Africa. However, South Africa is unique in offering constitutional protection for the rights of homosexuals; a fact that has implications for the full legal recognition of same-sex couples in this context.

1.1 European and North American Trends in Recognising Same-sex Relationships

Over the last decade there has been a trend towards the legal recognition of same-sex relationships in Europe and North America. In 2001, the Netherlands became the first country in the world to offer full marriage to same-sex couples. This legislative change was enacted with very little opposition ("Dutch say 'I do'", 2000). Registered partnerships are now available to lesbian and gay couples in many countries, including Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Germany. Indeed, most European countries, including Catholic countries like Spain, offer some level of legal protection for same-sex couples (Michaels, 2003).

The United States of America (USA) operates under a federal system of government. This has meant that the legal recognition of same-sex couples has depended largely on the legislature and judiciary of each state, with more progressive states offering same-sex couples the benefits of registered partnerships. The issue was debated at a national level, however, after the Supreme Court of Appeal in Hawaii ruled in 1996 that the ban on same-sex marriage was unconstitutional in terms of the Hawaiian Constitution's equal rights clause. For the first time, there was a very real possibility that same-sex couples would be able to legally marry in an American state. This was met with strong political and public opposition and raised a number of questions about the legal status these unions would be accorded in other states. In response, the federal government enacted the Defense of Marriage Act (1996) to secure the rights of each state to define marriage as a union between a man and a woman (Sullivan, 1997a). Consequently, although many states continue to offer registered partnerships, it remains impossible for same-sex couples to legally marry in any state in the USA. The state of Vermont subsequently negotiated a way of providing homosexual couples with legal recognition equal to that of heterosexual married couples without using the term 'marriage'. This was achieved through the enactment of a same-sex civil union bill which affords homosexual couples a legal relationship that is parallel to heterosexual marriage (Hull, 2001).

The legal recognition of same-sex relationships in Canada has also proceeded on a province – by-province basis. Very recent judgments in British Columbia and Quebec ruled that governments in those states were required to redraft marriage legislation by 2004 to recognise same-sex relationships. In an even more significant ruling in June 2003, the Ontario Court of Appeal overturned marriage laws and ordered government officials to begin issuing marriage licences to same-sex couples immediately (Makin, 2003). It is not yet clear whether the issue will be addressed at a national level.

1.2 Same-sex Relationships in Southern Africa

The status of same-sex couples in southern Africa is vastly different from that in Europe and North America. A report released in 2003 by Human Rights Watch (HRW) documents the state-sanctioned discrimination, harassment and abuse that characterise the experiences of lesbian and gay people in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia and Botswana (Long, 2003). The legal recognition of homosexual relationships is highly improbable in the context of such gross violations of individual lesbian and gay human rights.

However, South Africa is the one country in southern Africa in which the legal recognition of same-sex relationships can be meaningfully debated. This is largely due to the constitutional protection of the rights of lesbians and gay men, through the inclusion of sexual orientation in the Bill of Rights. The so-called 'equality clause' reads as follows:

The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, *sexual orientation*, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth. (Act 108 of 1996, Chapter 2, emphasis added).

South Africa was the first country in the world to offer constitutional protection on the grounds of sexual orientation. There is, however, strong evidence to suggest that this was achieved through strategic and vigorous lobbying by gay activists rather than through broad-based public support (Cock, 2003). In fact, in the year prior to the ratification of the Constitution, a large survey of public opinion conducted across all race groups and regions, found that 44% of respondents objected to giving homosexuals equal rights in the Constitution, 64% were opposed to the extension of marriage rights to long-term same-sex

partners and 68% objected to the proposal that homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children (Charney, 1995, as cited in Cock, 2003).

Notwithstanding the lack of public support for gay rights, the equality clause laid the foundation for a number of landmark judgments addressing issues of lesbian and gay equality. Consenting sexual conduct between adult persons of the same-sex is now legal, medical aid and pension fund benefits are available to same-sex partners of members, and, most recently, the rights to adopt and parent children jointly have been extended to same-sex couples. The legislature has also made a concerted effort to extend equal benefits to same-sex couples. Although there has been significant media coverage of many of these changes, there has been a notable lack of public opposition.

The remaining question relating to lesbian and gay equality that is ripe for a decision is the issue of the legal recognition of same-sex relationships. There are currently two applications in the courts requesting the legalisation of same-sex marriages. In addition, the South African Law Commission is in the process of collating public perspectives on this issue in order to make recommendations to parliament on changes to the Marriage Act. The discussion paper (South African Law Commission [SALC], 2003), which precedes the final recommendations, presents seven different legal mechanisms for recognising same-sex relationships. Fine legal distinctions are made in the paper, but for the purposes of this discussion, it is significant that the options include different combinations of: marriage as it is currently defined; civil unions excluding the religious component of marriage; registered partnerships and unregistered partnerships.

1.3 Contextualising the Current Research

Ultimately the decision to legalise same-sex marriage, or an alternative form of legal recognition for lesbian and gay relationships, will rest in the hands of the judiciary or the legislature. However, the possibility of same-sex marriage is likely to stir up considerable public debate and may well elicit a struggle over the ownership and meaning of marriage. Controversy surrounding this issue may intensify if South Africa becomes the first country in Africa to legalise same-sex marriage, especially if this is enacted in the face of strong public opposition. Although earlier research findings indicated that the majority of South Africans opposed the notion of same-sex marriage (Charney, 1995, as cited in Cock, 2003), no systematic research has been conducted to assess whether levels of public support for same-sex marriage have changed since the Constitution was ratified. Research of this nature is important since it would provide an indication of how well same-sex marriage would be received and integrated into family, community and religious life in South Africa.

Research into students' attitudes toward homosexuals is extensive and well-established but there is a dearth of psychological literature that has specifically investigated responses to same-sex marriage. The present research focuses on the opinions of heterosexual students on the legalisation of same-sex marriage. These opinions may be influenced by a wide range of factors, including religious beliefs, human rights, conservative, radical and cultural discourses as well as arguments based on the best interests of children. Within these discourses, arguments about same-sex marriage are presented as unified positions but they generally incorporate two distinct elements - responses to homosexuality and beliefs about the institution of marriage. These discourses are explored in the chapter that follows.

2 THEMES IN THE LITERATURE ON SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

The concept of extending marriage to same-sex couples is highly controversial and has elicited heated debate whenever it has been seriously considered. It is not hard to understand why. Same-sex marriage challenges existing notions of marriage and the family. It calls into question religious assumptions about homosexuality and the meaning of marriage. It represents full legal equality for lesbians and gay men and the ultimate social acknowledgement of same-sex relationships. For some, these transformations are important, necessary and late in coming. For others, they are unwelcome, threatening and to be resisted at all costs.

The debate on same-sex marriage has been conducted in academic journals from a wide range of disciplines, including psychology, philosophy, sociology, legal theory, theology and social policy. It has continued in newspaper articles, letters to the editor, academic discussions, and religious and community meetings. These debates have given rise to a diverse and extensive literature on the topic of same-sex marriage but a number of distinct themes can be identified. These represent different perspectives from which same-sex marriage is discussed, argued and made sense of, and include religious, human rights, conservative, radical and cultural perspectives as well as understandings of children and the family. Within each perspective, arguments about same-sex marriage are generally presented as cohesive opinions on a single issue. However, in this paper, I will argue that these opinions generally comprise two discrete elements - specific attitudes toward homosexuals and circumscribed approaches to the institution of marriage. These elements interact to constitute a response to the issue of same-sex marriage that is presented as a logical and clearly defined argument.

2.1 Religious Beliefs

Within religious circles, the issue of same-sex marriage has evoked fierce debate and has proved divisive in a number of religious communities. For the most part, public religious debate has been conducted within the framework of Judaeo-Christian concepts of marriage and centres on three key issues; namely: whether homosexuality is judged as immoral and unnatural (according to religious textual interpretation); the role of procreation within the marriage union; and the meaning of the religious covenant of marriage.

The moral evaluation of homosexuality in Judaeo-Christian religions provides the most widely cited basis for religious condemnation of same-sex marriage. Religious texts are invoked as proof that heterosexuality is central to God's natural order while homosexual behaviour is considered both sinful and an abomination in the eyes of God (Prager, 1990). Consequently, the notion that same-sex relationships could receive the legal and religious recognition afforded by marriage, elicits outrage amongst many religious leaders and adherents. A recent example is the statement issued by the Vatican calling on all Catholics to wage war against the legalisation of same-sex marriages since these unions are deemed deviant and unnatural ("Catholics have a duty", 2003).

Such vociferous protests are not representative of all who subscribe to Judaeo-Christian beliefs. Some religious theorists in mainstream churches have argued for a policy of tolerance toward people in homosexual relationships, even though they maintain the view that heterosexuality is the ideal model for human relationships (Heim, 1998). Others argue for alternative interpretations of the religious texts that are currently used to condemn homosexual behaviour and relationships. This approach has been accepted in relation to

biblical passages that would otherwise restrict the role of women in society. Some religious proponents of same-sex marriage argue that a similar approach could be applied to sanction same-sex unions without undermining the core biblical teachings (John, 1993). This position constitutes a rejection of the religious condemnation of homosexuality, thereby introducing the possibility that same-sex unions could receive religious recognition and blessing.

The issue of procreation within marriage represents the second significant religious debate on same-sex marriage. Some defend the heterosexual exclusivity of marriage on the grounds that homosexual partnerships do not fulfil God's purpose for human beings to procreate and create families (Prager, 1990). The counter argument to this position is twofold; firstly, heterosexual couples who cannot, or choose not, to procreate are not denied the right to marry (Kahn, 1989; Openshaw, 1997; Sullivan, 1996) and secondly, homosexual couples are able to 'have' children (some have children from previous relationships and others choose to adopt or make use of surrogacy or artificial insemination) thus meeting the religious definition of family (Heim, 1998; Kahn, 1989). Some religious opponents to same-sex marriage have responded by pointing to the social importance of maintaining the connections between marriage and the biological potential for the creation of new life (Editors of *Commonweal Magazine*, 1996). This opinion was expressed in a religious journal, but does not constitute a religious argument. Rather, it re-states the belief that procreation is central to marriage but frames it as an argument for the social good.

The meaning of marriage within religious communities is thus highly contested terrain in the debate on same-sex marriage. If procreation does not provide the core meaning of union, how can it be defined? A Reform Rabbi argues that homosexual Jewish couples who practise their faith and pledge to live together in faithfulness and integrity should be blessed and fully

welcomed into their social and religious communities (Kahn, 1989). This sentiment is echoed by some Christian theologians who advocate the blessing of gay unions that honour the holy and faithful love to which heterosexuals are called in marriage (John, 1993). Other religious writers question whether gay men are capable of 'faithful love', arguing that gay men would not be able to overcome their innate tendency toward promiscuity in order to keep their wedding vows (Prager, 1990). This argument effectively shifts the contested terrain back to the moral evaluation of homosexuality. The counter argument references the significance of the social and institutional support accessed through marriage and asserts that denying homosexuals access to this support encourages promiscuity and relationship instability (Kahn, 1989; Spong, 1990).

X It is clear that religious debates on same-sex marriage centre on two key issues. There are disagreements about the nature of homosexuality and the status of homosexuals within religious communities and there are disparities about the core meaning and content of marriage. Those who oppose the legalisation of same-sex marriage on religious grounds tend to focus on textually-based condemnation of homosexuality and the centrality of procreation in definitions of marriage. Religious proponents of same-sex marriage concentrate on alternative definitions of marriage founded on religious principles of faithfulness, integrity and love. Opponents and proponents of same-sex marriage also draw on non-religious arguments to justify their positions, either pointing to the significance of social support or beliefs about what is good for society.

Despite the intensity of religious debate on the issue of same-sex marriage, it should be noted that marriage is primarily a legal contract sanctioned by the state. The role of each religious community is to decide whether or not to add its blessing to this commitment (Spong, 1990).

However, for many religious lesbians and gay men, this aspect of marriage is equally important since it confers the blessing of God on their relationship and symbolises their full acceptance as a couple within the religious body (Openshaw, 1997). Religious ceremonies that bless same-sex unions thus fulfil the need for spiritual and religious expression, and provide an opportunity for the couple to share a connection with family and religious communities (Haldeman, 1998). Both of these functions have added significance for lesbian and gay couples who have experienced discrimination within their families and/or the structures of organised religion.

2.2 Legal & Human Rights Discourses

* The issue of same-sex marriage in South Africa will ultimately be decided either through the courts or the legislature on the basis of legal and human rights arguments.

A plethora of legal rights and obligations that are attached to marital relationships are denied to same-sex couples who do not have the option of marriage or registered partnership. These include: rights of inheritance should a partner die intestate; rights to make decisions about an incapacitated partner's medical care; rights to pension, health and death benefits, inheritance rights; and the right of recognition as a family and the benefits this accords under the law (Long, 2003). The denial of these legal rights may compromise the mental health of lesbians and gay men by reinforcing their vulnerability in the face of stressful situations (Cochran, 2001).

Although some of these rights can be claimed through drawing up contracts or seeking relief through the courts, this process is time consuming, costly and piecemeal. In South Africa, for

example, it is estimated that between 80 and 100 separate laws would have to be challenged in court in order to give same-sex couples the same rights as heterosexual married couples (Long, 2003). Furthermore, a South African legal academic has highlighted the problem of access to legal remedies since these rights are only likely to be appropriated by those lesbians and gay men who are educated and affluent enough to implement the requisite legal intervention (de Vos, 1996).

Many different human rights are invoked in the argument for extending marriage to lesbian and gay couples. A detailed exposition of each right is beyond the scope of this paper since each constitutes complex and contested legal terrain. The summary which follows includes references to additional sources for the reader who may wish to explore the legal issues more fully.

The right to equality is invoked to argue that denying homosexual couples the right to full marriage validates negative stereotypes of homosexuality and essentially confers a second class citizenship on lesbian and gay people (Moss, 2002). Since same-sex couples have the same interests as heterosexual couples, this cannot be justified unless one asserts a belief in the moral superiority of heterosexuality or the centrality of procreation in the institution of marriage (Wedgwood, 1999).

In South Africa, the Constitutional Court has read the right to equality and the right to dignity as closely linked. In the judgement on *National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality v Minister of Home Affairs*, Justice Ackermann defined the concept of dignity as an understanding that "...all persons have the same inherent worth and dignity as human beings, whatever their other differences may be" (2000, para. 42). This position negates moral

judgements of homosexuality and asserts that homosexuals and heterosexuals should be treated equally in the law. A similar reading of the right to dignity was applied in the recent Ontario Court of Appeal judgment that legalised same-sex marriage in that Canadian province (Makin, 2003).

The freedom to marry as a basic civil right is recognised under natural law (SALC, 2003; Sullivan, 1997c) and acknowledged in international legal instruments (Long, 2003). The fact that this right is currently denied to same-sex couples in most countries in the world is most often justified by pointing to procreative potential as a key distinction between heterosexual and homosexual relationships (Moss, 2002). It is also argued that homosexuals already have the right to get married even though they are obliged to marry someone of the opposite sex. Another basis for limiting the right to marry to heterosexual couples is the assertion that marriage is understood as a union between a man and a woman according to cultural, religious or political traditions (Badian, 2002). This is often referred to as the 'definitional argument' although it does not constitute an argument so much as a statement of historical fact. Indeed, some legal theorists have argued from a social constructionist perspective that marriage does not have essential elements but is constructed to reflect existing power relations and social structures (de Vos, 1996). Clearly, the 'definitional argument' and the others outlined above, draw on religious and conservative discourses relating to the form and function of marriage that are used to justify the exclusion of same-sex couples from the institution of marriage.

Some legal theorists assert that denying same-sex couples the right to marry amounts to a denial of their right to privacy. This is predicated on the assumption that the state is bound to uphold and respect the privacy of marital relationships, including the intimate aspect of these

relationships. The right to privacy is especially salient for lesbian and gay people who live in a context where consenting same-sex sexual conduct is still criminalized. (See Kaplan, 1997, pp. 206-212; Sullivan, 1997c, pp.87-94 for further discussion).

In South Africa, the courts have drawn on the rights to equality, dignity and privacy to address a number of issues relating to lesbian and gay equality. The Constitutional Court has endorsed the view that lesbian and gay couples are capable of forming committed, monogamous, enduring relationships in which they provide one another with emotional, financial and spiritual support. In addition, the Court has affirmed that same-sex couples can constitute families (SALC, 2003). These important acknowledgments suggest that the Constitutional Court favours the legal recognition of same-sex relationships. However, it is not yet clear whether the Court will assert the right of lesbian and gay couples to marry or the right to access registered or domestic partnerships as an alternative to marriage.

2.2.1 The Registered Partnership Alternative

Registered partnerships represent a primarily legislative solution to the question of same-sex marriage. They vary slightly between countries but generally offer legal protection to registered couples that is similar to that afforded to married couples. Where this system has been instituted for same-sex couples as an alternative to marriage, it often includes a limitation in terms of the rights to parenting (through joint adoption, artificial insemination or surrogacy).

This compromise is acceptable to many since it represents almost equal legal protection for same-sex couples and allows for an incremental integration of gay and lesbian equality.

Eskridge (2001) argues that this is preferable to having same-sex marriage forced by the judiciary on an unwilling majority and asserts further that registered partnerships can be construed as an important step in the direction of legalising same-sex marriage. There are others who reject this rationale and emphasise that anything less than marriage represents unequal treatment of gay and lesbian people. From this perspective, registered partnerships are considered separate but unequal to marriage, as lesbian and gay couples continue to be distinguished from heterosexual couples and are prevented from accessing an important societal institution (Purcell & Cabaj, 1998; Lesbian and Gay Equality Project, 2003).

2.3 Conservative / Normative Perspectives

Conservative thinkers are generally concerned with preserving social stability and moral norms, and maintaining the status quo. In relation to same-sex marriage, the conservative debate focuses on the social value and preservation of marriage, and beliefs about the nature of homosexuality and its compatibility with the institution of marriage.

Some conservatives maintain that debates on same-sex marriage are meaningless since marriage is defined as a union between a man and a woman and same-sex marriage is a contradiction in terms. This is countered by the argument that this definition constitutes a normative description of marriage as it has been traditionally understood and does not address the meaning or content of marriage (Bolte, 1998; Freeman, 1999).

The question of what constitutes a marriage is a contentious one in the conservative debate. Many conservative opponents of same-sex marriage point to the biological or symbolic possibility of procreation as the central element in marriage (Arkes, 1993; Wilson, 1996).

Proponents of same-sex marriage counter that procreation can be understood to include rearing adopted children and children from previous relationships, and bearing children through artificial insemination or surrogacy (Rauch, 1996). In addition, many argue that procreation is only one of a number of expectations in marriage. Other expectations, which lesbian and gay couples are deemed capable of meeting include: a sexual relationship; mutual financial, physical and psychological support; and a ceremony to mark the union (Bolte, 1998).

Conservatives generally agree that marriage plays an important role in maintaining a stable society and that it should be preserved as an institution (Kurtz, 2000; Rauch, 1996; Sullivan, 1995). The question of whether and how the extension of marriage to same-sex couples would affect the institution of marriage is highly contested. Some claim that same-sex marriage will encourage more stable, long-term partnerships amongst homosexuals thereby increasing social stability (Rauch, 1996; Editors of the Economist, 1996). Others contend that marriage is already under threat from high rates of divorce, the increase in non-marital unions and single parenting, and that it would be further weakened by the 'parody' of same-sex marriages (Arkes, 1993; Kurtz, 2000; Wilson, 1996). The same reasoning is evident in conservative arguments for providing domestic partnerships on the grounds that this constitutes a concession to homosexual equality and upholds the right to privacy, without compromising the institution of marriage (Safire, 1996). Andrew Sullivan (1995), considered one of the most articulate, conservative proponents of same-sex marriage, counters this with an argument that same-sex marriage could potentially strengthen the institution of marriage.

He states:

If constructed carefully as a conservative social ideology, the notion of stable gay relationships might even serve to buttress the ethic of heterosexual marriage, by showing how even those excluded from it can wish to model themselves on its shape and structure. (p. 154).

Marriage is also considered central in conservative constructions of the family. Married couples are thought to provide the ideal home environment for the raising of children. The conservative debate on same-sex marriage therefore raises questions about the desirability of lesbian and gay parenting. These concerns are separately addressed in the section titled Children and Family.

Sullivan (1995) proposes another argument for legalising same-sex marriage based on the importance of marriage for maintaining family stability. He asserts that same-sex marriage would confer a level of legitimacy on homosexual relationships that would make it easier for families of lesbian or gay youth to accept them. He contends that increased parental acceptance would improve the self-esteem of young homosexuals. Sullivan argues further that same-sex marriage would benefit lesbian and gay youth by providing a positive model of the family that they could aim to create. This argument is verified by psychological research on lesbian and gay youth that has demonstrated that parental support and a positive self-concept are important mediating factors in their vulnerability to suicidality and other mental health difficulties (Hershberger & D'Augelli, 1995; Lebson, 2002).

It is clear that conservative positions on same-sex marriage are strongly informed by understandings of the meaning of marriage and its role in society. Opponents of the legalisation of same-sex marriage assert that marriage should remain a heterosexual institution. From this perspective, same-sex marriage is considered a threat to the institution of marriage and to the stability of society. Inherent in this reasoning is the view that homosexual relationships could never be construed as equivalent to heterosexual relationships (Posner, 1992). Proponents of same-sex marriage contend that there would be greater family and social stability if same-sex couples were encouraged to commit to lifelong unions. They also assert that same-sex marriage would buttress the institution of marriage and provide a positive model of committed same-sex relationships to which gay and lesbian youth could aspire. Both of these positions are founded on beliefs about the nature of homosexuality and its compatibility with the institution of marriage.

One of the assumptions underlying the conservative position against same-sex marriage is that gay men (like all men) are naturally promiscuous and, in the absence of the domesticating influence of women, gay men are unlikely to remain monogamous or faithful in a marital relationship (Kurtz, 2000; Podhoretz, 1996). In other words, male and female gender roles are extensions of the inherent natures of men and women - men are predatory and sexually rapacious while women are nurturing and provide a domesticating influence on men. From this strongly gender-normative perspective, it is assumed that lesbian couples are more likely than gay male couples to uphold the marital ideals of monogamy, commitment and fidelity (Podhoretz, 1996).

While many conservative proponents of same-sex marriage agree that gay men tend toward promiscuity, they argue that this is partly in response to decades of societal rejection of

homosexuality and a lack of institutional support for homosexual relationships (Sullivan, 1995). From this perspective, same-sex marriage would legitimate homosexuality, encourage the development of long-term same-sex relationships and constitute a powerful force for curbing male homosexual promiscuity (Rauch, 1996; Sullivan, 1995).

There is a continuum of beliefs that influence conservative positions on same-sex marriage. At one extreme is the belief that homosexuality is a perversion (analogous to bestiality and incest) and/or a mental disorder that should not have been removed from the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual in 1973 (Podhoretz, 1996). Those who identify with these views are likely to be vociferous in their view that homosexuals do not deserve access to the institution of marriage. At the other end is the view that homosexuals are no different from heterosexuals, except with respect to the gender of their partners (Schwartz, 1996). Those who locate their views on homosexuality at this end of the spectrum are more likely to believe that homosexual and heterosexual couples have the same basic needs which can be fulfilled through the structural and cultural support of marriage (Freeman, 1999).

2.4 Radical / Transformative Theories

Radical theorists are deeply critical of the social and political status quo and motivate for fundamental social and institutional change. Radical writers locate the institution of marriage and understandings of lesbian and gay experience (or identities) at the core of the debate on the legalisation of same-sex marriage. In contrast to the conservative approaches, radical approaches are concerned with radically altering (or destroying) the institution of marriage and ensuring that lesbian and gay identities are not subsumed into the mainstream. From this

perspective, there are two main areas of debate; the potential for same-sex marriage to alter the institution of marriage, and the effect that marriage may have on lesbian and gay communities.

Radical positions for and against same-sex marriage are partly defined by beliefs about the institution of marriage. Opponents of same-sex marriage point to feminist critiques of marriage as an oppressive institution that is constructed to legally, economically, and politically benefit men and disadvantage women (Brook, 2002; de Vos, 1996). The fact that marriage is structured on unequal gender relations has meant that it has been an effective tool for the oppression of women. Many radical thinkers have questioned whether lesbians and gay men should embrace such an institution (Kaplan, 1997; Lesbian and Gay Equality Project, 2003).

Supporters of same-sex marriage from a radical perspective counter that same-sex marriage is a revolutionary idea that has the potential to radically transform the institution of marriage (Graff, 1996). Same-sex partners would enter marital unions as gender-equals thereby challenging the gender inequality that is built into the structure of marriage. While this is a theoretically interesting notion, it is unclear how it would translate into any meaningful changes in the experiences of heterosexual, married women. Furthermore, it is possible that married lesbian and gay couples would reproduce the gender inequality inherent in heterosexual marriages despite entering the marital relationship as gender-equals (Kaplan, 1997). For example, one partner may have a much greater income than the other and pay the mortgage on the shared house. The other partner may have part-time employment and take responsibility for childcare and household management. It is not difficult to see how this arrangement mimics a 'traditional' heterosexual marriage in which one partner is financially

dependent on the other. This partner is economically vulnerable and may find it difficult to leave should the relationship break down or become abusive.

There is concern among some radical thinkers that striving for same-sex marriage represents an attempt by lesbian and gay couples to mimic heterosexual relationships, thereby reinforcing the heterosexual bias in society (Kaplan, 1997; Livingston, 1996) and entrenching marriage as the only acceptable form of relationship in lesbian and gay communities (Ettelbrick, 1989). This is contended to be contrary to two of the primary goals of the lesbian and gay movement; namely: the affirmation of gay identities; and the validation of many different forms of relationships (Ettelbrick, 1989). The fear is that same-sex marriage could effectively destroy independent gay identities and mainstream homosexuality. In response to these concerns, Kaplan (1997) contends that refusing to fight for same-sex marriage on these grounds will ensure that lesbian and gay people continue to live their lives at the periphery of society, without laws to guarantee their rights but with laws to regulate their behaviour.

Another concern amongst radical writers is that same-sex marriage would undermine the rights of those who choose not to marry (Lesbian and Gay Equality Project, 2003). For example, if same-sex marriage were legalised then gay people might be expected to marry and those who chose not to might be further stigmatised (Freeman, 1999). In this event, the lesbian and gay community could become divided into 'good' homosexuals who accepted the norms of marriage and 'bad' homosexuals who did not (Brook, 2002).

Other radical writers argue that the legalisation of same-sex marriage would be a clear indication that lesbian and gay relationships have achieved the legitimacy that has historically been reserved for heterosexual couples (Rotello, 1998). Furthermore, the legal, economic and

social benefits of marriage would undoubtedly improve the lives of many committed same-sex couples (Wolfson, 1996), which in itself represents a victory for lesbian and gay equality. From this perspective, the denial of marriage to gay couples represents ongoing marginalisation of people who identify as lesbian or gay. Wolfson (1994/5) argues that this imposes an 'all-or-nothing' model of lesbian and gay identity whereas many gay people, "...want both to be gay *and* married, to be gay *and* part of the larger society. For these lesbians and gay men, being gay is not just about being different, it is also about being equal" (p.143, emphasis in original).

Gay activists and radical writers on same-sex marriage agree that lesbians and gay men experience discrimination on the basis of their sexual orientation and that homosexual couples should have the same rights as heterosexual couples. However, they are divided on the question of whether or not same-sex marriage should be legalised. Some argue that same-sex marriage has the potential to disrupt the gender inequalities inherent in heterosexual marriage, to signify the legitimacy of homosexual relationships and to improve the lives of many same-sex life partners. Others contend that same-sex marriage would entrench marriage as the only acceptable form of relationship, undermine independent gay culture and amount to an imitation of heterosexuality. These differences reflect the radical political spectrum on the issue of same-sex marriage, ranging from the view that same-sex relationships should be legitimated through to the belief that the institution of marriage should be destroyed and all forms of relationships should be accorded the same recognition.

2.5 Constructions of Family & the Best Interests of Children

In modern societies, the concepts of marriage and family are inexorably linked such that it is almost impossible to speak of one without considering the other. Discussions of family generally refer to heterosexual families, positing the two-parent, nuclear model as the ideal environment for the healthy development of children. However, the same-sex marriage debate has increased levels of awareness of alternative, non-heterosexual constructions of family. Indeed, considerations of whether lesbian and gay families can serve the best interests of children are central to religious and conservative debates on gay marriage. This issue is separately addressed here in order to do justice to the available literature on the topic and to acknowledge the fact that this category may have salience for some people who do not identify with conservative, religious or legal perspectives on same-sex marriage.

Public opposition to gay and lesbian parenting may be stronger than opposition to same-sex marriage (Charney, 1995, as cited in Cock, 2003; Clarke, 2001). Clarke (2001) conducted an analysis of British media data on the issue and identified six arguments that are most commonly cited to oppose gay parenting. The first is based on the religious judgement of homosexuality as a sin. The second constructs gay parenting as unnatural based on the biological fact that two people of the same sex are unable to create a child. Clarke stresses that both of these arguments are applied to homosexuality broadly and are utilised to justify acts of ongoing discrimination against lesbian and gay people, including the denial of same-sex marriage.

The remaining four arguments are expressed as concern for the well-being of the children of lesbian and gay parents. The third argument is expressed broadly in terms of the 'best interests of the child', which lesbian and gay parents are accused of sacrificing for their own

selfish desires to be parents. The underlying assumption here is that having homosexual parents is intrinsically detrimental to children. Although this argument is used on its own to justify the superiority of heterosexual parenting, it is often supplemented with one or more opinions about the manner in which homosexual parents are assumed to compromise their children's well-being. These opinions are expressed in the final three arguments, namely; that lesbian and gay parents do not provide appropriate role models for their children, that children of lesbian and gay parents are likely to grow up to be homosexual (or at least 'confused'), and that they are more likely to be bullied by their peers.

These findings demonstrate how religious and conservative judgements of homosexuality, as sinful and unnatural, are extended to apply to lesbian and gay parenting. The arguments that lesbian and gay parenting compromises the development and the best interests of children are uncritically reproduced as 'common-sense' understandings of childhood development and the nature of homosexuality. No doubt, they are partly informed and reinforced by the application of very similar legal arguments in cases where custody or access has often been denied to lesbian and gay parents.

In South Africa, the courts are required to consider the 'best interests of the child' in making decisions about custody arrangements. This criterion has been used in a number of cases to justify removing children from the custody of their lesbian mothers, despite evidence of maternal fitness and the mother's role as primary caregiver (Descoins, 1997). Often these judgments have been predicated on the kind of 'common-sense' responses to lesbian and gay parenting that were outlined in the section above. This trend of prejudicing lesbian and gay parents has, however, been reversed as a result of decisions handed down recently by the Constitutional Court. Same-sex partners are now able jointly to adopt children, thus ensuring

that the rights of children and both parents are protected (*Du Toit and Another v Minister of Welfare and Population Development*, 2003). In addition, if one partner in a lesbian relationship bears a child as a result of artificial insemination or other means, both women can be registered as parents of the child (*J and Another v Director General, Department of Home Affairs and Another*, 2003). Both judgments are highly significant in that they acknowledge the rights of lesbian and gay people to parent children, and by implication, recognise that lesbian and gay parenting does not contradict the legal requirement to protect the best interests of the child.

It is noteworthy that Justice Goldstone, in handing down the court's judgment on *J and Another*, indicated that some form of legal recognition of lesbian and gay relationships was necessary to address the many areas of the law in which the constitutional rights of lesbian and gay people may be infringed (para 25). Furthermore, it is significant that, in both cases, the material put before the court for consideration included evidence from psychological research relating to the impact of lesbian and gay parenting on the well-being of child.

The early psychological research on the impact of homosexual parenting was conducted in the 1970's, in response to the need for evidence in custody cases involving mothers who had left heterosexual marriages and come out as lesbians (Golombok, Tasker and Murray, 1997). The major concerns of the courts were that socioemotional and gender development may be compromised in children raised in lesbian families. The results of this early research were consistent in establishing that there was no significant difference between children raised in lesbian families and those raised in heterosexual families with respect to psychological adjustment, development of gender identity and gender-role behaviour, or relationships with peers (Golombok et al., 2003).

These research results were groundbreaking and highly significant in that they began the process of de-pathologising homosexual (and especially lesbian) parenting. They were not, however, considered definitive since most of the children in the studies had been exposed to heterosexual parenting in the early years of their development. Questions remained about the development of children adopted by lesbian women or conceived via artificial insemination since these children were not exposed to a father-figure during the important early years of development.

In one of the earlier studies of children raised from birth by lesbian mothers, Patterson (1994) assessed children being raised in lesbian families in a number of areas relating to psychosocial development and sexual identity. She compared her data to the available data on normal and clinical populations. The children in this sample scored in the normal range on measures of social competence, and internalising and externalising behaviour problems. In addition, she found no significant differences between children of lesbian and heterosexual mothers on measures on the self-concepts of aggression, social closeness and social potency. Children of lesbian parents, however, reported significantly more negative emotional reactions to stress (e.g. anger and fear) and positive emotional feelings (e.g. joy and satisfaction with self). Patterson speculated that this discrepancy could indicate that children raised in lesbian homes experienced more stress as a result of being raised in alternative family structures. Alternatively, she postulated that children in lesbian families are more strongly encouraged to express their emotions, both positive and negative.

Flaks, Ficher, Masterpasqua & Joseph (1995) compared the cognitive and behavioural functioning of children born to lesbian couples via donor insemination with a control group of children being raised by married, heterosexual couples. These researchers incorporated

teacher reports to corroborate parental reports. They also considered the data of the boys and girls separately to assess whether the impact of lesbian parenting differed according to the gender of the child. The children's scores on measures of cognitive functioning and behavioural adjustment did not differ significantly, according to either type of family (lesbian or heterosexual) or gender.

Focusing on the absence of a father-figure, Golombok et al. (1997) compared the family relationships and socioemotional development of children raised in lesbian-mother families (either single mothers or two-parent homes) and children raised in households headed by single, heterosexual mothers, with children raised in two-parent heterosexual homes. They found no differences between the lesbian mother and single mother groups on any of the measures. Their results also indicated that children being raised without fathers were no more likely to develop emotional or behavioural problems, and were more securely attached to their mothers. However, these children perceived themselves to be less competent in physical and cognitive tasks than children raised with fathers. The researchers suggested that the presence of a father may be associated with childhood development of self-esteem or that these children are responding to social cues that female-headed households are less valued than families where a father is present.

In a study of the psychosocial adjustment of children conceived by donor insemination to lesbian and heterosexual mothers, Chan, Raboy & Patterson (1998), found that the children were all developing normally. Their measures included both parent and teacher reports. Their results indicated that the children's psychological adjustment was not affected by either parental sexual orientation or whether the child was being raised by a single mother or a mother in a (lesbian or heterosexual) relationship.

Finally, Golombok and Perry et al. (2003) conducted an extensive investigation into the socioemotional adjustment and parent-child relationships of children raised in lesbian and heterosexual, single-mother and two-parent families. Measures included parent and teacher reports, and independent evaluations of data by a child psychologist. Significantly, their sample was drawn from a population of parents registered with a longitudinal study of parents and children, and is thus likely to be more representative of the general population than the volunteer or convenience samples used in the other studies reported here. The researchers found no significant differences between children raised by heterosexual and lesbian mothers in terms of levels of psychiatric disorder or peer relatedness.

Based on the studies detailed above, it seems fairly clear that children raised by lesbian parents develop normally, function well and are as well-adjusted as children raised in heterosexual families. Research findings are consistent in establishing normal patterns of gender development and gender-role behaviour among children raised by lesbian women. Furthermore, concerns that these children are likely to be bullied, ostracised or rejected by their peers are contradicted by findings that they are socially competent and have positive self-concepts (Golombok, et al., 1997).

It should be noted that most of these studies utilised volunteer and convenience samples which raises difficulties in terms of extrapolating the findings to the general population. However, Golombok and Perry et al. (2003) utilised a sample from the general population and substantially confirmed the findings of the other studies. An additional limitation in these studies is the limited demographics of the lesbian samples; the participant families were mostly middle-class people with some college education; where race was mentioned the mothers were predominantly white. Furthermore, the studies reported were all conducted in

the United Kingdom and the United States and may not apply to the experience of lesbian parenting in South Africa.

Another significant limitation in terms of the scope of the studies is the exclusion of gay fathers who have adopted children or reproduced with the assistance of a surrogate mother. The data on the impact of homosexual parenting cannot be considered complete until sufficient research has been conducted with samples of gay male parents and the children they have raised from an early age or birth.

Despite these limitations, it is clear that the findings of psychological research on children raised in lesbian families have largely refuted the belief that normal childhood development will be compromised in children raised by homosexual parents. These findings have already had a significant impact on the legal rights of lesbian and gay parents. Most notably, the Constitutional Court recently cited such research findings as evidence that lesbians and gay men should be allowed to jointly adopt and parent children. Furthermore, these data negate one of the key assumptions underlying public opposition to lesbian and gay parenting, leaving only those arguments based on negative beliefs about the nature of homosexuality. These include religious and conservative beliefs that homosexuality is a sin and that lesbian and gay relationships are unnatural. This indicates that opponents of same-sex marriage who cite concerns about the well-being of children raised by homosexual parents are not citing research evidence but may hold these views as part of a set of negative beliefs about homosexuality.

2.6 Cultural Beliefs & Norms

For the purposes of this study, culture is understood as a process that creates individuals as social beings according to the social conventions of a given context (Swartz, 1998). These social conventions can also be described as cultural norms or beliefs that change over time and are negotiated and shared by self-identified groups or communities. This understanding of culture highlights the difficulty of speaking conclusively about the norms of any given culture. This does not mean, however, that cultural norms and beliefs can be construed as insignificant in the debate on same-sex marriage. In fact, cultural norms and beliefs are perhaps most visible when they are utilised as a framework for making sense of new phenomena, such as same-sex marriage.

An extensive review of the literature on same-sex marriage unearthed references only to African cultural perspectives on same-sex marriage. One possible explanation for this is that cultural norms are not considered salient to debates on same-sex marriage – possibly religious, legal or conservative frameworks are deemed more relevant. It is also possible that academic studies of different cultures have entrenched a specific notion of culture as something that is fixed and applies only to the lives of people considered unsophisticated or ‘other’ (Swartz, 1998). Despite the absence of references to other cultural positions on same-sex marriage, it was hypothesised that some people who do not identify with an African culture would use a cultural perspective to make sense of the concept of same-sex marriage.

References to African culture all addressed the history of same-sex marriage in Africa as part of the debate on whether homosexuality is contrary to African culture. One of the most contested issues in contemporary African culture is the importance of cultural change as opposed to the significance of tradition and cultural continuity. Within this debate, some

African leaders (most notably, President Mugabe of Zimbabwe) have pointed to the increasing recognition of the rights of homosexuals as evidence of the dangers of moving away from African traditions. This argument is justified on the basis that homosexuality is fundamentally un-African and was introduced into Africa by the colonisers (de Waal, 1997; Rinaldi, 1998). This line of reasoning has been utilised to curtail even the most basic lesbian and gay human rights in many countries in southern Africa (Long, 2003).

There is a growing body of evidence to support the claim that homosexual practices were already incorporated in many African cultures prior to the arrival of colonial invaders. Murray and Roscoe (1998) state that these practices would often take the form of age or gender-differentiated relations (i.e. if two men were sexually involved, the passive partner would be ascribed a female gender while the active partner would claim a masculine identity). In addition, it was considered acceptable in many communities for young people to engage in homosexual behaviour and relationships prior to (heterosexual) marriage. There is also evidence that marriage between women (including the payment of bride price) has long existed in a number of African communities. In general, the women who take wives are either very wealthy or very influential within their communities (Carrier & Murray, 1998).

However, if it is accepted that homosexual practices have long existed in many communities in Africa, the advent of colonialism certainly introduced the concept of a homosexual identity and a set of laws to criminalise homosexual conduct (Long, 2003). Many urbanised Africans who engage in same-sex relations now identify as homosexual. However, there is evidence that many communities still draw a distinction between same-sex sexual behaviour and a homosexual sexual orientation. Kendall's (1998) account of normative erotic relationships among rural Basotho women in Lesotho provides a recent example of an African community

in which a distinction is drawn between sexual acts and sexual orientation. She argues that these relationships between women are considered acceptable because they are not constructed as sexual and do not exclude or replace heterosexual sexual contact.

The literature on same-sex marriage and African culture highlights the manner in which discourses on homosexuality are central to opinions on same-sex marriage from a cultural perspective. The evidence that homosexual relationships in Africa predated the advent of colonialism points to the fact that the notion of a homosexual identity, rather than the existence of homosexual relationships, was introduced into Africa. However, if African leaders assert that homosexuality is not part of African culture, they can justify the ongoing persecution of lesbians and gay men and continue to exclude them from the important cultural institution of marriage.

2.7 Responses to Homosexuality & Views on Marriage

The available literature on same-sex marriage highlights the different perspectives from which arguments for and against same-sex marriage are made. Within each perspective, it is possible to distinguish two discrete but related positions implicit in the arguments on same-sex marriage. The first is the range of responses to homosexuality and the second is the spectrum of views on the institution of marriage. African cultural positions on same-sex marriage are largely dependent on beliefs about the historical location of homosexuality in African cultural practice. Similarly, Judaeo-Christian theologians and leaders are explicit in acknowledging religious responses to homosexuality as the basis for opinions on same-sex marriage. However, religious constructions of marriage are also considered significant in debates about the extension of marriage to homosexual couples. Conservative and radical

writers disagree on the nature of homosexuality and the social significance of marriage as they debate the impact of homosexuality on the institution of marriage and the importance of marriage for lesbian and gay couples. Within the legal domain, the centrality of a human rights discourse has informed a number of significant judgements resulting in more equal treatment of lesbian and gay South Africans. However, the response of the judiciary and the legislature to the issue of same-sex marriage is likely to be largely founded on public and legal constructions of marriage. Finally, arguments on same-sex marriage based on constructions of family and the best interests of children are framed as concerns about the impact of lesbian and gay parenting but appear to be primarily based on beliefs about the nature of homosexuality.

The significance of responses toward homosexuality within the debates on same-sex marriage indicate that existing psychological data on attitudes toward homosexuals would be useful in understanding opinions on same-sex marriage. This data is summarised below followed by a discussion of a study that explored student responses to lesbian and gay human rights.

2.8 Studies on Attitudes Toward Homosexuals

There is a well-established tradition of psychological research on attitudes toward homosexuality which has resulted in an extensive body of literature on this topic. Much of this research has focused on identifying the correlates of homophobia, or negative attitudes toward homosexuals.

In terms of demographic correlates, researchers have consistently found that men hold more negative attitudes than women toward homosexuals, in both student populations (D'Augelli

& Rose, 1990; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Johnson, Brems & Alford-Keating, 1997; Kurdek, 1988; Schellenberg, Hirt and Sears, 1999) and non-student populations (Pratte, 1993; Seltzer, 1992). This pattern has been confirmed by a number of meta-analytic studies of the sex differences in attitudes toward homosexuals (Kite, 1984; Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998; Whitley & Kite, 1995). The research also suggests that older people who are less well-educated express more negative attitudes toward homosexuals (Herek, 1984; Seltzer, 1992). Among student populations, however, there is a tendency for younger students to be more homophobic than older students (Johnson et al., 1997; Pratte, 1993).

People who identify as politically conservative or who come from conservative family backgrounds, are consistently associated with highly negative attitudes to homosexuals (D'Augelli & Rose, 1990; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Herek, 1994; Seltzer, 1992). There is some research evidence to suggest that those who identify with a conservative ideology value traditional norms of masculinity and femininity (Kurdek, 1988), and fixed ideas of appropriate gender-role behaviour (Herek, 1994; Newman, 1989). Within this framework, homosexuals may be shunned because they contravene these notions of appropriate gender identity and behaviour.

People who have strong religious beliefs and frequently attend religious services generally hold more negative attitudes toward homosexuals (Berkman & Zinberg, 1997; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Johnson et al., 1997). This appears to be especially true for those who are religious fundamentalists and/ or identify as reborn Christians (Herek, 1994; Seltzer, 1992). There is limited evidence, however, that some people who identify as strongly religious are not vehemently anti-homosexual because they do not accept that homosexuality is a sin (Matchinsky & Iverson, 1996).

There is substantial evidence to show that exposure to, or interactions with, lesbians and gay men is associated with more positive attitudes to homosexuals as a group. This finding is consistent across student populations (D'Augelli & Rose, 1990; Klamen, Grossman & Kopacz, 1999; Lance, 1987; Matchinsky & Iverson, 1996; Proulx, 1997; Sakalli & Ugurlu, 2001; Schellenberg et al., 1999) and samples drawn from the general population (Annesley & Coyle, 1995; Berkman & Zinberg, 1997; Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993). There are also indications that the type of contact is important if a positive attitude toward an individual homosexual it is to be generalised to the broader group of homosexuals; ideally, there should be multiple, positive contacts with lesbian and gay people, some of whom are considered close friends and who disclosed their sexual orientation directly (and not via a third party) (Herek and Capitanio, 1996; Simon, 1998).

* In recent years, public and political debates on issues such as the rights of lesbians and gay men to serve in the military, adopt children or marry their same-sex partners has raised awareness of lesbian and gay human rights. As a result, some researchers began to include items in their studies to assess attitudes toward gay rights. A number of studies on attitudes toward homosexuals have included questions about the rights of lesbians and gay men (Annesley & Coyle, 1995; Klamen et al., 1999; Kurdek, 1988). The findings of these studies indicated that there were often discrepancies between respondents' attitudes toward homosexual people and their attitudes toward the rights of homosexuals. Specifically, respondents' attitudes toward gay human rights were often more positive than their attitudes toward homosexual people, especially in contexts where there was a well-developed understanding of basic human rights. Meta-analytic studies indicate that most research that has assessed attitudes toward the rights of homosexuals was conducted using non-validated scales with only a small number of items that do not differentiate between lesbians and gay

men (Kite & Whitley, 1996; Whitley & Kite, 1995). Despite these methodological difficulties, it is worth noting that there is some evidence for the greater acceptance of homosexual rights than that for homosexual people or behaviour (Kite & Whitley, 1998). However, levels of support appear to vary according to the type of right proposed; free speech and equal employment opportunities are relatively well-supported by both women and men. The rights of lesbians and gay men to parent, marry and serve in the military are less well-supported with men more strongly opposed to the extension of those rights that relate to the performance of gender roles (Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998). There is a need for methodologically sound research, utilising large samples, into attitudes toward gay rights that differentiated between lesbian and gay targets.

Ellis (2002) conducted a large-scale questionnaire survey of student support for lesbian and gay human rights, utilising both quantitative measures and qualitative data. The quantitative data included responses to the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale – Short Form (ATLG-S) and the Support for Lesbian and Gay Human Rights scale (SLGHR). These data were analysed to establish whether a relationship existed between attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, and support for lesbian and gay human rights, and to investigate which human rights were strongly endorsed and which were not. The qualitative data were written responses to questions about personal responsibility and positive social change in relation to gay rights. These were separately analysed to explore the students' sense of responsibility for upholding and promoting lesbian and gay human rights.

Ellis' results demonstrated a strong positive correlation between attitudes toward homosexuals and the endorsement of lesbian and gay human rights; respondents who held more positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men were more likely to indicate support for

their human rights (and vice versa). Unlike the research results included in Kite and Whitley's (1998) meta-analysis, these results showed no discrepancy between attitudes toward homosexuals and attitudes toward their rights.

The specific human rights that received strong endorsement were those that related to an individual's basic personal freedoms (e.g. opposing the criminalisation of consenting sexual acts or being otherwise persecuted for being lesbian or gay). Similarly, employment rights were well supported, although there was less agreement when it came to the deployment of lesbian and gay military personnel. The support for political rights was slightly inconsistent, with the majority agreeing that lesbians and gay men should not be prejudiced by their sexual orientation in a court of law while more than one third did not support granting of political asylum to homosexuals when they are persecuted in their own countries. Social rights were fairly well endorsed, with a substantial minority advocating limitations when the views of lesbians and gay men offended the majority. A small percentage did not feel that lesbians and gay men should have the right to express affection to their partners in public without fear of harassment or violence. The right to marry was not strongly endorsed, with a substantial minority (14.4%) disagreeing or strongly disagreeing that same-sex marriage should be legalised. Fewer than half of all respondents agreed that lesbian and gay couples should have the same parenting rights as heterosexuals, with almost a quarter opposing or strongly opposing this right.

The qualitative data indicated that almost half of respondents were not prepared to take any level of personal responsibility for unjust treatment of lesbians and gay men, either due to disinterest, or a sense of powerlessness to effect social change or based on beliefs that homosexuality is wrong or unnatural. The majority of the remaining respondents indicated

that they felt a level of individual responsibility to treat lesbians and gay men fairly or framed their responses in terms of liberal acceptance and tolerance of homosexuals. Relatively few respondents expressed a political commitment to addressing lesbian and gay equality and those that did, expressed it as a commitment to equality broadly (i.e. the importance of working to end discrimination of all forms).

Ellis suggests that her results indicate that students in Britain may endorse global liberal principles of equal rights for lesbians and gay men but that the inconsistent support for some political and social rights demonstrates an impoverished understanding of human rights. She points to the excessive use of the 'unsure/neutral' category as an indication that some respondents found it difficult to openly express prejudiced views, especially in the context of a liberal university culture. The results of Ellis' study also give one a sense of the complexity of responses to lesbian and gay rights and the competing discourses which underpin them.

2.9 Aims of the Study

The literature reviewed above identified six main perspectives from which the legalisation of same-sex marriage is argued. It is clear that each perspective incorporates distinct views on the institution of marriage and the nature of homosexuality. Psychological data on attitudes to homosexuals has been fairly consistent in identifying strong opposition to same-sex marriage and parenting, even when support for other lesbian and gay rights is expressed. These surveys were conducted in the United States and the United Kingdom but in South Africa there is some suggestion that a similar discrepancy exists.

In South Africa, the issue of providing some form of legal recognition for same-sex relationships is likely to be resolved in the near future. Despite the constitutional protection of lesbian and gay rights and the existing case law aimed at promoting equality, it is not clear that same-sex marriage will be treated as the next step in the development of lesbian and gay equality. If there is strong public and political opposition to same-sex marriage, it is possible that the alternative option of allowing same-sex domestic or registered partnerships will be legalised.

The research described in this paper has two main aims. The first is to investigate the opinions of heterosexual law students on the legalisation of same-sex marriage. The second is to explore some of the beliefs and value systems underlying these perspectives.

3 METHOD

There are six main perspectives from which the legalisation of same-sex marriage is debated. These include: religious belief systems; legal and human rights discourses; conservative / normative perspectives; radical / transformative theories; constructions of family and the best interests of children; and cultural beliefs and norms. Individual responses to the legalisation of same-sex marriage may draw on arguments from a number of different perspectives on the issue and are likely to demonstrate distinct views on the institution of marriage and responses to homosexuality.

This study aims to assess levels of support for and opposition to same-sex marriage and to explore the perspectives underlying responses to same-sex marriage among heterosexual law students at a South African university.

3.1 Selecting a Methodology

Q methodology was selected as the approach that would be most appropriate in terms of realising the aims of the study. There were a number of theoretical and practical reasons for this choice.

Firstly, Q methodology provides a framework for the systematic study of subjectivity (Brown, 1992) in which an individual subjectivity is understood as that person's point of view. Q methodology thus incorporates the structure of a quantitative approach with the exploratory potential of a qualitative approach. This combination was deemed highly suitable for researching a controversial issue, such as same-sex marriage, within the constraints of a

limited budget and timeframe. It is also an approach that has been successfully utilised within the South African context, to explore the construction and experience of identities amongst lesbian (Blyth, 1989) and Jewish communities (Kaplan, 1994).

Secondly, Q methodology is an intensive research approach that is "...biased towards small-person samples and single case studies" (McKeown & Thomas, 1988, p. 36). As such, it was judged an appropriate method for generating rich and meaningful data within the confines of a small research study.

Finally, Q methodology allows respondents to express themselves in a manner that is not circumscribed by the assumptions and belief systems of the researcher. This was an important consideration for the limitation of researcher bias.

3.2 Q METHODOLOGY

For a detailed account of the theory, history and application of Q methodology, the reader is directed to the work of Brown (1980, 1992, 1997), McKeown and Thomas (1988) and Kitzinger (1987). In addition, the journal, *Operant Subjectivity*, documents the most recent research applications of Q methodology as well as the current theoretical and methodological debates in this field. For the purposes of this thesis, I will briefly outline the basic principles of Q methodology and then indicate how it was applied in relation to this particular study.

Q methodology was developed in the mid-1930's by the British physicist and psychologist Prof. William Stephenson, and is thus named to distinguish it from R methodology. Although both are factor analytic techniques, they differ conceptually in a fundamental way. Unlike R

methodology, Q methodology is concerned with "...correlations between *persons* rather than tests" (Brown, 1980, p.9, emphasis added). This shift was predicated on the centralising of individual subjectivities or points of view. Subjectivity is always self-referent (McKeown & Thomas, 1988) and is therefore not quantifiable in terms of 'objective' units of measurement. Consequently, Q methodology does not test assumptions but proceeds through the exploration of correlations between individual points of view. The factors that are derived for analysis and interpretation thus constitute groups of people whose opinions on a given issue are significantly similar.

The application of Q methodology consists of 4 key processes, namely: developing the Q sample; administering the Q sort; analysing the data using factor analysis; and interpreting the results of the analysis. These processes are outlined in relation to the current study in the sections that follow.

3.3 The Q Sample

A Q sample is a set of stimuli which is drawn from the 'concourse' or "...volume of comment on a particular topic" (Brown, 1997, p.5). It is important that the Q sample is representative of the concourse but selecting a sample of stimuli from the potentially innumerable stimuli comprising the concourse presents a difficult task. Indeed, this process remains "...more an art than a science" (Brown, 1980, p. 186).

The Q sample often consists of statements but other visual, auditory and even olfactory stimuli have been utilised. In the context of this study, the Q sample consists of a set of statements derived from the concourse of published opinion on the issue of same-sex

marriage. This type of Q sample is described by McKeown and Thomas (1988) as quasi-naturalistic since it is developed from sources external to the study. A naturalistic Q sample, by comparison, would be derived from respondents' oral or written communications (Kaplan, 1994; Kitzinger, 1987).

The material sourced for the selection of the Q sample statements in this study included activist literature and academic writings within the disciplines of law, theology, psychology, social policy, sociology and philosophy. Other important sources were local and international media reports on the issue and the public and political debates that resulted. The direction and focus of this search was heavily influenced by *Same-sex marriage: Pro and con*, edited by Sullivan (1997).

The review of the literature strongly suggested six distinct perspectives from which positions on same-sex marriage are argued. These were identified as: religious beliefs; a human and legal rights framework; a normative/ conservative value system; a radical/ transformative value system; beliefs about the importance of family and the best interests of children; and the importance of cultural practice and traditions (see Appendix 1 for the operand definitions of these categories). These perspectives were incorporated into the Q sample design.

3.3.1 *Designing the Q Sample*

The design of the Q sample was largely determined by the research aims. In order to determine broad levels of support for, and opposition to, same-sex marriage, it was deemed necessary to divide the sample stimuli into statements in support of, and those in opposition to, same-sex marriage. This was the basis for a deductive design (McKeown & Thomas,

1988) in which the stimuli would be divided into two different 'directions' (support and oppose same-sex marriage) and a number of 'dimensions' or perspectives from which a position is argued.

The second aim was to gain insight into respondents' positions on same-sex marriage. Consequently, it was deemed necessary to construct a structured Q sample in order to ensure that the broadest possible range of opinions was included.

The statements comprising the Q sample were structured according to the design illustrated in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Factorial design of Same-sex Marriage Q Sample

	Main effects	Levels		N
A.	Direction	a) Support same-sex marriage	b) Oppose same-sex marriage	2
B.	Perspectives	c) Religious e) Normative/Conservative g) Children/ Family	d) Human Rights/ Legal f) Radical/ Transformative h) Cultural Beliefs and Norms	6

Q-Sample (N) = (Direction) (Perspectives) = [A] [B]

(A) (B) = (2) (6) = 12 combinations:

ac	ad	ae	af	ag	ah
bc	bd	be	bf	bg	bh

Replications (m) = 4

N = (12) (4) = 48 statements

3.3.2 Checking the Validity of the Q Sample

In order to check the validity of the Q sample, a selection of academics and practitioners in the fields of law, gender, human rights advocacy, psychology and training were asked to give

input on a randomly ordered set of the statements. Specifically, respondents were asked to comment on whether the statements were clearly worded and whether each statement expressed an unambiguous opinion either for or against same-sex marriage. The statements were altered or reworded accordingly to achieve maximum clarity.

Examples of the final Q sample statements according to directions and perspectives (or categories) are listed in Table 3.2. (The full Q sample is listed in Appendix 2).

Table 3.2: Examples of Q Sample Statements

Support same-sex marriage (a)		Oppose same-sex marriage (b)	
ac	Religious communities should bless unions based on love, commitment and honesty - regardless of whether the couple is heterosexual or homosexual.	bc	Since homosexuals cannot procreate naturally, in the way that God intended, they should not be allowed to get married.
ad	It is unconstitutional to deny same-sex couples the right to marry since this is unfair discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.	bd	Same-sex marriage is not necessary. Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to register their relationships as domestic partnerships in order to receive the same legal rights as married people.

3.4 The Q Sort

Q sorting is the technical process through which data are collected for data analysis. It entails the rank ordering of Q sample stimuli according to a fixed distribution pattern. Each respondent's completed ranking of the Q sample statements is called a Q sort and represents that person's opinion on the issue under research. In this study, respondents were required to model their opinions on same-sex marriage by simultaneously rank ordering the forty-eight Q sample statements along a rating scale ranging from -5 (most strongly disagree) to +5 (most strongly agree).

When completing a Q sort, participants are requested to place certain numbers of statements under each point on the rating scale resulting in a quasi-normal distribution of the Q sample items. This 'forced' distribution requires that respondents divide the items into those with which they agree or disagree and furthermore decide on the relative significance of each item compared with the others. Brown (1980) emphasises that in statistical terms, it does not matter if respondents deviate from the quasi-normal distribution slightly. Instead, the quasi-normal distribution is imposed in order to ensure that respondents consider the statements very carefully, and make the kinds of fine distinctions between statements of which they are perfectly capable but may not otherwise have made.

The Q sort distribution for this study is represented in Figure 3.1. Each X signifies a statement position on the rating scale. For example, respondents were required to place three statements on same-sex marriage under -5, 4 statements under -4 and so forth.

Figure 3.1: Same-sex Marriage Q Sort Distribution

Frequency	3	4	4	5	5	6	5	5	4	4	3	Frequency
Ranking	-5*	-4	-3	-2	-1	0**	1	2	3	4	5***	Ranking
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
				X	X	X	X	X				
						X						

* Column -5 represents the category "Most strongly disagree"

** Column 0 represents the category "Neutral" for items which are not considered salient

*** Column +5 represents "Most strongly agree"

3.4.1 Testing the Q Sort

The Q sort was piloted on two respondents to determine whether there were any difficulties in the administration process and to ascertain an approximation of the time required for completion. Both respondents completed the task without difficulty in less than half an hour.

After the Q sorting, one of the respondents commented that he initially felt slightly uncertain where to place a statement that expressed a position with which he agreed (e.g. supporting same-sex marriage) but a perspective with which he disagreed. Although he quickly realised that he was required to respond to the statement in its entirety, he recommended that this point be clearly stipulated at the start of the Q sort process. This recommendation was adopted since it was deemed important for ensuring the validity of the data.

Other useful feedback related to the distinction between a spontaneous and a considered response to the statements. Since opinions may well constitute both of these elements, it was decided that the instructions would simply emphasise that what was required was a representation of the respondent's personal opinion on the issue of same-sex marriage.

3.5 Selecting the Person-Sample (P-Set)

In keeping with the Q methodology bias towards small person samples, it was decided that the P set for this study would be limited to 40 – 45 respondents drawn from the population of law students at the University of Cape Town (UCT). This group was sampled for three main reasons. Firstly, the question of same-sex marriage is largely a legal and constitutional issue and therefore of direct relevance to those who are training as legal practitioners. Secondly, in

the course of their training, law students are exposed to the legal questions regarding lesbian and gay equality and are therefore likely to have begun to consider their own personal responses to this issue. Finally, and most significantly, the opinions of law students on same-sex marriage are deemed particularly significant since they are expected to become legal practitioners who could well influence the development of the law in this area.

3.6 Participants

Forty-seven students participated in the research; however, three Q sorts were subsequently excluded on the basis that the respondents identified as homosexual. The final group of participants (or P set) thus consisted of forty-four respondents, of which 30% (N=13) were male and 70% (N=31) were female. The mean age of respondents was 22.5 years with a range of 20 to 34 years. In terms of racial representation, the majority of respondents were White (68%) and a further 18% were Black African. The Coloured and Indian respondents each comprised 7% of the participant sample. More than three quarters of the participants claimed a religious affiliation, with 50% indicating an affiliation with mainstream Christian churches, 11% identifying themselves as evangelical Christians, 9% indicating that they were Jewish and 7% indicating that they were Muslim. The remaining 23% of respondents indicated that they were not affiliated to a religious grouping. Finally, 77% of participants indicated that at least one person in their family or friendship groups was homosexual, with the remaining 23% stating that they did not have homosexual friends or family members.

3.7 Materials

Two sets of material were utilised for the data collection process; the first related to the administration of the Q sort and the second was in the form of a two page questionnaire.

For the Q sort, a diagrammatic representation of the Q sort distribution (as illustrated in Figure 3.1) was reproduced onto large boards, with blocks demarcated to indicate how many statements should be placed under each number on the rating scale (i.e. 3 blocks under +5 (Most strongly agree), 4 blocks under +4 (Strongly agree) and so forth). Sets of forty-eight cards were also prepared. Each card contained a single Q sample statement, with a number specific to that statement recorded on the back of the card. To achieve a random ordering of the Q sample statements, the numbers 1 to 48 were written onto individual playing cards and this 'deck' of 48 cards was thoroughly shuffled and cut three times. The final order of the 48 numbers was recorded to ensure that the random ordering was the same for each respondent's set of Q sample statement cards.

The questionnaire comprised questions relating to demographic information and a scale to measure attitudes toward homosexuals (see Appendix 3 for a sample of the questionnaire).

The demographic detail that was requested included age, gender, race and religious affiliation. An additional question was included to assess whether the participants were aware of any friends or family members who identified as homosexual. (Note: in order to distance the researcher from any racist positioning, the racial 'categories' were preceded by a statement indicating that these categories did not in any way indicate support for the apartheid project of privileging certain 'groups' of people over others).

A brief scale measuring attitudes toward lesbians and gay men was included to assess whether general attitudes toward lesbians and gay men differed in any way from attitudes toward same-sex marriage (as has been suggested in the literature). In addition, scale scores were intended to supplement the demographic data in contextualising and interpreting the results of the core data analysis.

The scale selected was Herek's ten-item short form of the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG-S). Although this instrument has not been widely utilised in the South African context, the ATLG-S has proved to be a reliable and valid measure of heterosexuals' attitudes toward homosexuals (Herek, 1994). It has been utilised in a number of studies in the extended, twenty-item version (Berkman & Zinberg, 1997), and in various versions of the short form (Schellenberg, Hirt & Sears, 1999; Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; D'Augelli & Rose, 1990).

The ATLG-S comprises statements such as "Lesbians just can't fit into our society" and "Male homosexuality is a perversion", that are rated on a 9-point scale ranging from +4 (strongly disagree) to -4 (strongly agree). The full ten-item ATLG-S scale is included in Appendix 3. Statements are scored between 1 (strongly disagree) and 9 (strongly agree), although positively worded items (statements 2, 5, 7 and 10) are reverse scored. Scores on the ATLG-S thus range between 10 and 90, with higher scores indicating more negative attitudes toward homosexuality. The midpoint score of 50 is the cut-off point between positive and negative attitudes toward homosexuals; scores below 50 indicate positive attitudes toward homosexuals and scores above 50 indicate negative attitudes toward homosexuals.

3.8 Procedure

First, second and final year law students were solicited, through email contact and requests made during their lectures, to participate in research investigating the opinions of law students at UCT on the issue of same-sex marriage. Participation was voluntary and students were assured that their responses would be confidential. Data collection was conducted individually or in small groups not exceeding eight people. Each participant was seated at a separate desk and given a set of materials as described above.

3.8.1 *Administering the Q Sort*

Initially, participants were instructed to carefully read through all of the statements on same-sex marriage and divide them into three separate piles, placing statements with which they definitely disagreed on the left of the desk, those with which they definitely agreed on the right, and those about which they felt neutral or ambivalent in the centre. They were then asked to reconsider the statements on same-sex marriage with which they definitely disagreed, select the three statements with which they most strongly disagreed and place those cards on the board in the three spaces available under -5 (most strongly disagree). Respondents were then required to select the next four statements with which they most strongly disagreed from the remaining statements in the 'disagree' pile. They placed these on the board in the four spaces available under -4 (strongly disagree). This process was repeated until the cards in the 'disagree' pile had all been placed on the board.

Participants were then requested to begin the process again with the statements on same-sex marriage with which they definitely agreed, placing the three statements with which they most strongly agreed under +5 (most strongly agree), the next four statements under +4

(strongly agree) and so on until only the neutral/ambivalent pile remained. Participants were requested to complete the rank ordering by differentiating between these statements and placing each on a block on the board.

After completing the Q sort, participants were instructed to review the position of the statements on the board. Each participant was encouraged to make any changes deemed necessary to ensure that the distribution accurately represented his/her opinion on same-sex marriage.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

A research proposal outlining the motivation, the procedure for data collection and the ethical implications for the study was approved by the Ethics Committee within the Faculty of Law at UCT prior to the collection of data.

A number of ethical issues were considered in the implementation of this research. Respondents participated on a voluntary basis. To ensure that students did not feel pressured into participating, they were sent an email requesting their participation in the research. Information about the nature and scope of the study was provided to ensure that potential respondents could give informed consent. In addition, it was emphasised that any student who chose to participate could withdraw at any point in the data collection process. Potential respondents were also advised that their responses would be kept confidential; they would not be required to record their names on answer sheets and the original data would only be used for the current research purposes. Finally, the researcher's contact details were made

available in the event that respondents wished to discuss any aspect of the research process or their responses to the issue under research.

3.10 Analysis of the Data

The analysis of the collected Q sorts, or rankings, involves the application of three separate sets of statistical operations, namely: correlation; factor analysis; and the computation of factor scores (McKeown & Thomas, 1988).

The technical procedures of Q methodology are summarised below and are described in more detail in Appendix 4. However, an exploration of the complex statistical and mathematical theory underlying factor analysis is beyond the scope of this paper. Fortunately, the availability of advanced computer programmes, such as QMETHOD (which was used for this study), obviates the need for an in-depth understanding of these complexities and enables the researcher simply to generate the analyses required for the interpretation of the data.

Data from the Q sorts was correlated to form a 44 x 44 correlation matrix (Appendix 4). This provides a comparison of each of the Q sorts (representing individual opinions on same-sex marriage) in relation to one another. As with conventional R methodology, factor analysis of the correlation data matrix is conducted by means of centroid or principal components analysis and a number of factors are extracted. However, in Q methodology, these factors represent sets of people who share similar opinions on the issue under research. For example, in the current study, analysis of student opinions on same-sex marriage was conducted by the principal components method through which QMETHOD automatically extracts eight factors. These factors represent eight different perspectives on the legalisation of same-sex

marriage which are shared, to a greater or lesser degree, by the individual students who helped define each perspective. From this point, the analysis is no longer dependent on individual factor scores but on each respondent's loadings on the factors generated. For each respondent, these loadings indicate the extent to which that individual identifies with the shared perspective defined by each factor.

The next step is the extraction of significant factors. Proponents of Q methodology are not all in agreement as to the best method of determining the significance of factors. If statistical criteria are utilised (Kitzinger, 1987), significance is generally indicated if the eigenvalue (the sum of the squared loadings for that factor) is greater than 1.00 and there are two or more significant individual factor loadings. Theoretical considerations are more difficult to summarise since they largely depend on the nature of the study being conducted, the differential salience of individual Q sorts and/or the construction of a Q sample based on strong theoretical criteria (for examples, see Brown, 1980). Significant factors are then rotated, either manually or according to the varimax criterion, to a simple structure.

For the purposes of this research, the scree test was applied in order to determine the number of significant factors. These three factors were then rotated to a position of simple structure using the varimax criterion.

The last step in the analysis is the generation of a factor array, or model Q sort, for each significant factor based on the factor loadings of the individual Q sorts that define it (McKeown & Thomas, 1988). For example, in the present study, eighteen individual Q sorts (or opinions on same-sex marriage) define Factor 1. Based on their individual loadings on Factor 1, it is possible to generate a composite Q sort (or factor array) that represents the

Factor 1 perspective on same-sex marriage. Within this factor array, certain statements on same-sex marriage are accorded greater salience based on the common responses to those items. The factor arrays for Factors 1, 2 and 3 can then be compared in terms of the different levels of significance accorded to specific statements on same-sex marriage. (The process through which factor arrays are generated is described in greater detail in Appendix 4). A sample of the factor arrays for Factors 1,2 and 3 is presented in Table 3.3 below.

Table 3.3: Sample of Factor Arrays for Opinions on Same-sex Marriage

Item	Q sort scores for each item (from 5 to -5)		
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
9	5	4	0
19	0	-5	-5
24	-5	5	-4
33	3	0	5

3.11 Factor Interpretation

As illustrated in Table 3.3 above, for item 9 (*It is unconstitutional to deny same-sex couples the right to marry since this is unfair discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation*), the Factor 1 score is 5 (strongly agree) while the Factor 3 score is 0 (neutral/ no salience). In contrast, for item 19 (*Same-sex marriage would strengthen the institution of marriage because more people would accept that marriage is an important institution for a stable society*), Factor 2 and 3 both score -5 (strongly disagree) while the Factor 1 score is 0 (no salience).

This demonstrates how factor interpretation proceeds on the basis of the factor scores for each factor array (McKeown & Thomas, 1988; Brown, 1980). These scores identify the statements which characterise each factor, especially those that are ranked at the extreme ends of the rating scale (i.e. +/- 3,4,5). Additional insight can be gained by further examining those statements which differentiate each factor from the other. Throughout the interpretive endeavour, Brown emphasises that "...factor interpretations (at the risk of tautology) cannot stray far from the factors of which they are interpretations if they aspire to descriptive accuracy" (Brown, 1992, p.26).

The items defining the factors in the current study and the comparisons between them are detailed in the chapter that follows.

4 RESULTS

The previous chapter detailed the process of constructing the research tool according to the six perspectives on same-sex marriage identified in the available literature on the issue. An account was also given of the process of data collection. The data processing was described as the grouping of participants according to the degree to which they demonstrated a shared perspective on the issue under research. These groupings are referred to as factors. Each factor's opinion on same-sex marriage is determined through the application of weighted composite scores to the data. This process produces a ranking of the available arguments on same-sex marriage for each factor and allows for comparisons to be drawn between the opinions signified by the factors. Prior to the analysis of the opinion on same-sex marriage signified by each factor, however, it is necessary to identify the statistically significant factors that can be considered representative of the sample's views on same-sex marriage.

4.1 Statistical Results

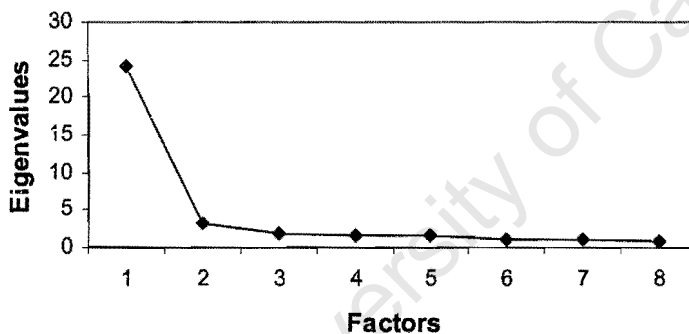
In this study on the opinions of UCT law students on the legalisation of same-sex marriage, 44 respondents provided Q sort data. The Q sorts were correlated producing a 44 x 44 matrix (see Appendix 4), which was factor analysed using the principal components method. Principal components analysis in the QMETHOD programme automatically extracts eight unrotated factors which were then assessed for significance. This process depends on the factor eigenvalues (sum of squared loadings). The eigenvalues of the eight factors are listed below in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Eigenvalues for Unrotated Factors

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 8
Eigenvalue	24.0305	3.1063	1.9050	1.7366	1.6562	1.0388	1.0162	0.8744
sig. > 1.00								

In order to determine which factors are significant, these eigenvalues were plotted on a graph and subjected to a scree test. According to this test, factors are only considered significant up to the point at which the difference between the eigenvalues can be seen to 'level out'. The graph of eigenvalues is represented below in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Graph of Factor Eigenvalues



In this figure, it is clear that the difference between the eigenvalues levels out at Factor 3, which represents the last significant factor. The first three factors were therefore retained for rotation.

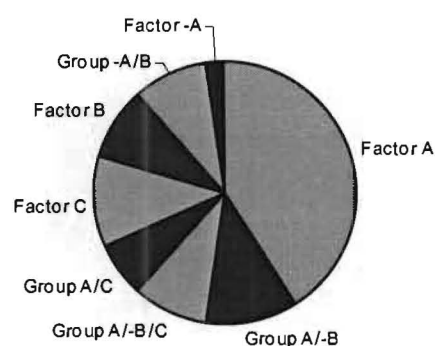
Although the application of these statistical criteria resulted in a limitation of the range of potential opinions for interpretation, it also brought the definition of the significant factors into sharper focus. This 'trade-off' was deemed justifiable within the context of this research since a large number of individual opinions on an issue as contentious as same-sex marriage

was considered less important than identifying a smaller number of more coherent sets of opinions.

The three significant factors, henceforth referred to as Factors A, B, and C, were then rotated to a simple structure according to the varimax criterion. Each factor was subsequently examined to identify those Q sorts that loaded significantly and solely on that factor. There were eighteen defining Q sorts for Factor A, four defining Q sorts for Factor B and five defining Q sorts for Factor C. In addition, one Q sort loaded significantly, and negatively, on Factor A thus defining Factor -A. The remaining Q sorts had loadings that were significant on more than one factor thus creating four 'hybrids' or groupings of the main factors. These were groups 'A /-B', '-A /B', 'A / C' and 'A/ -B/ C'. These factor groupings, along with factor -A, are derivatives of the three main factors and are not subjected to independent statistical analysis. However, they are qualitatively discussed after the analysis of the main factors. The list of individual Q sort loadings for each factor is presented in Appendix 5.

The proportion of factor and group representation is illustrated in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Proportional Representations of the Factors by the P set



Each of the main factors is explored in greater detail in the sections that follow. To facilitate the interpretive endeavour, factor interpretation proceeds through an examination of statements which characterise the factor (Brown, 1992), especially the twenty-two statements that are ranked at the opposite ends of the factor array. These are the statements with which respondents in the factor *most strongly agreed or disagreed* (+5 and -5), *strongly agreed or disagreed* (+4 or -4), and *definitely agreed or disagreed* (+3 or -3). The full listing of the statements and their scores for each of these factor arrays are presented in Appendix 6. Brief comment is also made on Factor -A and each of the factor groupings based on the interpretation of the main factors.

4.2 Factor A

A majority of respondents in this study loaded positively and significantly on Factor A, which exemplifies an unequivocally supportive position on the legalisation of same-sex marriage. An analysis of the Factor A array confirms that all of the statements that are positively ranked are opinions that support the legalisation of same-sex marriage and all of the negatively-ranked items are those that express positions that oppose legalising same-sex marriage.

It is immediately apparent from the Factor A array that a human and legal rights approach is fundamental to this factor's position on the legalisation of same-sex marriage. The items from this category that are included in the Factor A array are presented below in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Centrality of the Human and Legal Rights Position in the Factor A Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Support H/L Rights	9. It is unconstitutional to deny same-sex couples the right to marry since this is unfair discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.	+5
Support H/L Rights	11. Under our present Constitution, same-sex couples should be given the right to marry in recognition of their right to dignity and respect.	+5
Support H/L Rights	10. Same-sex marriage is necessary in order for gay and lesbian life-partners to automatically access the full range of legal rights and duties that apply to married couples (e.g. inheritance rights, duty of mutual support, etc.).	+5
Support H/L Rights	12. Same-sex marriage should be legalised because the right to marry is a fundamental human right.	+4
Oppose H/L Rights	14. Same-sex relationships <i>cannot</i> meet the standards of marriage (e.g. monogamy, fidelity and mutual support) and therefore should <i>not</i> receive the legal benefits of marriage.	-5
Oppose H/L Rights	13. There is no need for same-sex marriage. Homosexuals already have the right to get married - just <i>not</i> to someone of the same sex.	-4
Oppose H/L Rights	15. Same-sex marriage should <i>not</i> be legal because homosexuals are likely to abuse it by creating marriages of convenience in order to access the legal benefits of marriage.	-4

The statements with which respondents *most strongly agreed* are all representative of this perspective and include the right to non-discrimination based on sexual orientation (9), constitutional protection of the right to dignity (11), and the right of lesbian and gay couples to access the legal benefits of marriage (10). Respondents *strongly agreed* with the assertion that the right to marry is a fundamental human right (12) and this completes the quota of available items arguing for the legalisation of same-sex marriage from this position.

Respondents in this factor also clearly rejected arguments against the legalisation of same-sex marriage which are based on a more conservative understanding of human and legal rights. An argument for denying gay couples the legal rights of marriage based on their inability to remain monogamous, faithful and supportive of one another (14) was included in the *most strongly disagree* group. In addition, respondents *strongly disagreed* with the assertion that homosexuals already have the right to marry someone of the opposite sex (13) and with the argument that homosexuals would abuse the legal benefits of marriage (15).

Respondents in Factor A rejected the four items that represented conservative or normative arguments against same-sex marriage. These items and their rankings are listed in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Rejection of the Conservative Position in the Factor A Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Oppose Conservative	24. The relationships of homosexuals should <i>not</i> be recognised as marriages because the sexual acts and lifestyle choices of homosexuals are unnatural and immoral.	-5
Oppose Conservative	21. Marriage is a long-term, monogamous union which should <i>not</i> be extended to homosexuals (especially men) since they are naturally promiscuous and unable to remain true to a marriage commitment.	-5
Oppose Conservative	23. Marriage as an institution is under threat from high divorce rates and increasing levels of single parenting. Opening marriage up to homosexual couples would undermine heterosexual marriage even further.	-4
Oppose Conservative	22. Marriage by definition is a union between a man and a woman. Gay marriage is therefore nonsensical.	-3
Oppose Religious	7. If God wanted homosexuals to marry one another He would have created 'Adam and Steve' instead of 'Adam and Eve'.	-3

The *most strongly rejected* items in this category are those that propagate negative stereotypes of homosexuality; namely that homosexuals have chosen a perverse lifestyle (24) and are naturally promiscuous (21). The remaining two items deal with marriage as an institution and are accorded slightly less salience. The assertion that the institution of marriage will be undermined by the inclusion of homosexual couples (23) is one of the statements with which respondents *strongly disagreed*. They also *definitely disagreed* with the definitional argument that marriage is a union between a woman and a man (22), and a related opinion from a conservative religious perspective implying that heterosexuality and marriage are natural and God-given (7). These statements indicate that the response of the Factor A respondents to the issue of same-sex marriage was partly informed by positive views on homosexuality and an approach to marriage that is not bound by conservative constructions of marriage and its role in society.

Another position that is strongly represented in the Factor A array is the consideration of children and family in relation to same-sex marriage. The relevant items are presented below in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Arguments for the Protection of Children in the Factor A Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Support Religious	3. Marriage is <i>not</i> just about procreation (having children). Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to marry despite the fact that they are <i>not</i> able to produce children.	+4
Support Child/Family	33. Children are already being raised by gay and lesbian people. Same-sex marriage would benefit these children because it would provide social recognition for their families.	+3
Support Child/Family	35. Same-sex marriage would be beneficial because children raised in gay and lesbian families would be financially protected in the event of a separation or divorce.	+3
Support Child/Family	36. Same-sex marriage would be very positive for gay and lesbian youth because they would feel that their relationships are valued in society and it would provide a model of the families they could also aim to create.	+3
Oppose Child/Family	38. Same-sex marriage should <i>not</i> be allowed because this will encourage homosexuals to have children. This is <i>not</i> in the best interests of any child.	-3
Oppose Child/Family	39. Same-sex marriage is a bad idea because children raised within same-sex marriages are more likely to become homosexuals themselves.	-3

Same-sex marriage is deemed significant in ensuring that the rights and well-being of children being raised by lesbian and gay parents are protected (33 and 35). There is also recognition that same-sex marriage would provide a model of family life for lesbian and gay youth (36). All of these statements were included in the *definitely agree* category. A potentially confusing item in this regard is the strongly positive rating (+4) of a religious argument for same-sex marriage *despite* the fact that lesbian and gay couples are unable to produce children (3). This implies a conception of lesbian and gay relationships as childless unions. However, the respondents in Factor A *definitely disagreed* with the assertions that being raised by a gay couple would not be in the best interests of any child (38) and that children raised in such families would become homosexual themselves (39). The rejection of these opinions indicates that the legal recognition and support of children raised in gay families is part of a broader belief system that gay parenting is not damaging for children.

Factor A's unequivocal support for the legalisation of same-sex marriage may be predicated in part on the fact that they *definitely agreed* that homosexuality is universal and should not preclude access to the culturally significant practice of marriage (43). In any event, the fact that two radical arguments for same-sex marriage were included in the *strongly agreed* category, indicates that Factor A respondents believe that societal responses to homosexuality should shift. One item advocates for same-sex marriage based on the need for acceptance of diversity and the transformation of society (27). The other is premised on an understanding that the acceptance of lesbian and gay relationships through same-sex marriage would indicate a radical conceptual shift in society (28). This valuing of positive social change may also inform this factor's *strong disagreement* with the assertion that gender roles are fixed and determine the heterosexuality of marriage as an institution (45). These items are presented below in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Beliefs about Homosexuality, Marriage and Social Change in the Factor A Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Support Radical	27. The legalisation of same-sex marriage would lead to greater acceptance of diversity. This has the potential to positively transform our society.	+4
Support Radical	28. Same-sex marriage should be legalised as it would acknowledge the legitimacy of gay and lesbian relationships.	+4
Support Cultural	43. Gay and lesbian people exist in every culture and should therefore be allowed to share in the culturally endorsed practice of marriage.	+3
Oppose Cultural	45. In my culture, men must behave like men and women must behave like women. Marriage between people of the same-sex should therefore <i>not</i> be allowed because it would be socially disruptive.	-4

From this analysis, it is clear that Factor A exemplifies a very clear position in favour of the legalisation of same-sex marriage based on the principles of quality and individual human rights. Factor A respondents unequivocally rejected negative stereotypes of homosexuality, including the belief that gay parenting would be detrimental to children raised in these homes. Instead, these respondents asserted that the relationships of lesbian and gay couples

should be legally protected and socially accepted. Factor A respondents also rejected conservative constructions of marriage and argued that marriage should be open to change.

4.3 Factor B

Factor B is defined by a relatively small percentage of the participants who are overwhelmingly opposed to the legalisation of same-sex marriage. Overall, the Factor B array is 88% consistent with an opinion that is completely opposed to the legalisation of same-sex marriage.

The statements that contain opinions on same sex marriage argued from a religious perspective clearly have the most salience for the respondents in this factor. These items are listed with their rankings in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: The Conservative Religious Position in the Factor B Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Oppose Religious	6. The practice of homosexuality is an abomination in the eyes of God. Religious communities should <i>not</i> encourage same-sex relationships and should definitely <i>not</i> bless them in any way.	+5
Oppose Religious	8. Religious communities should <i>not</i> accept same-sex marriage, even if the state legalises it.	+5
Oppose Conservative	24. The relationships of homosexuals should <i>not</i> be recognised as marriages because the sexual acts and lifestyle choices of homosexuals are unnatural and immoral.	+5
Oppose Religious	7. If God wanted homosexuals to marry one another He would have created 'Adam and Steve' instead of 'Adam and Eve'.	+4
Oppose Religious	5. Since homosexuals <i>cannot</i> procreate naturally, in the way that God intended, they should <i>not</i> be allowed to get married.	+4
Support Religious	2. It is time for the condemnation of homosexuals to end and for loving same-sex couples to have their relationships recognised and blessed within their religious communities.	-5
Support Religious	1. Religious communities should bless unions based on love, commitment and honesty - regardless of whether the couple is heterosexual or homosexual.	-4
Support Religious	4. Gay and lesbian people who are deeply religious should be allowed to have their unions blessed in a marriage ceremony.	-3

All four of the religious items opposing the legalisation of same-sex marriage are highly positively ranked and form the basis of very strong opposition to this issue. Among the items with which Factor B respondents *most strongly agreed* is an argument against same-sex marriage made on the basis of a very clear religious condemnation of homosexuality (6) and a more general item concerning the refusal of religious communities to accept changes in legislation regarding same-sex marriage (8). An item reiterating that heterosexuality is part of God's natural order (7) and an assertion that same-sex marriage should be denied since homosexuals cannot procreate in the 'way that God intended' (5) are among the statements with which respondents *strongly agreed*.

Furthermore, items which motivate for the religious blessing of same-sex unions are strongly rejected in the Factor B perspective. In the *most strongly disagree* category, the inclusion of statement 2 illustrates that Factor B respondents rejected any form of religious acceptance or recognition of homosexual relationships. This position is reiterated by the *strong disagreement* with an item expressing support for the religious blessing of gay unions based on love, commitment and honesty (1). Within this opinion, respondents *definitely disagreed* that lesbian and gay couples who are strongly religious should be granted religious blessing of their unions (4).

The Factor B array exemplifies a perspective on the legalisation of same-sex marriage based on the religious rejection of homosexuality and a refusal to recognise or bless gay unions under any circumstances. That this perspective is clearly on the conservative end of the religious continuum is confirmed by the Factor B ranking of the items categorised as conservative opinions on same-sex marriage. The assertion that same-sex marriage should be rejected on the grounds that homosexuality is 'unnatural and immoral' (24) is one with which

these respondents *most strongly agreed*. This could be construed as a non-religious version of another item in this category; namely that same-sex marriage should be rejected on the basis that homosexuality is an abomination in the eyes of God (6).

The opinion on same-sex marriage signified by Factor B appears to be strongly informed by a broader belief in the importance of the traditional institution of marriage which would be threatened by the extension of marriage to lesbians and gay men. The items that substantiate this position are presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: The Defence of Traditional Marriage in the Factor B Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Oppose Conservative	22. Marriage by definition is a union between a man and a woman. Gay marriage is therefore nonsensical.	+4
Oppose Radical	31. Gay and lesbian couples should <i>not</i> work towards inclusion in the heterosexual model of marriage but should create positive, alternative 'family structures' for themselves.	+3
Oppose Cultural	48. Same-sex marriage should <i>not</i> be legalised because in my culture same-sex marriage will never be accepted as equivalent to heterosexual marriage.	+3
Support Conservative	19. Same-sex marriage would strengthen the institution of marriage because more people would accept that marriage is an important institution for a stable society.	-5
Support Radical	25. Same-sex marriage would be beneficial because it would provide heterosexual couples with a model of a union that has more equal gender roles.	-5
Support Conservative	20. Marriage by definition involves a relationship between two people over time, which includes a sexual relationship, the possibility of bringing up children, expectations of mutual support and a ceremony which recognises the union. Gay and lesbian couples are able to meet these criteria and should therefore be allowed to marry.	-4
Support Radical	26. Same-sex marriage would be a positive development as it would open the way for a radical transformation of the institution of marriage.	-4
Support Cultural	41. Same-sex marriage should be integrated into existing cultural norms.	-4
Support Cultural	42. Same-sex marriage is becoming acceptable in many cultures and there is no reason that it should be rejected here.	-3

Respondents in this factor *strongly agreed* that marriage is a union between a man and a woman (22) and *strongly disagreed* with an alternative definition of marriage based on the functions and expectations of a marital union (e.g. commitment over time, the possibility of raising children and mutual support) (20). Within this position, it is unconceivable that

extending marriage to gay couples would add to the status of the institution of marriage in any way (19); this contention was ranked in the *most strongly disagree* category. In fact, any possibility for fundamentally transforming the institution of marriage is strongly rejected. This explains the *strong disagreement* with the item that motivates for same-sex marriage based on the argument that it opens the way for radical transformation of the institution of marriage (26). Another argument from a radical perspective with which Factor B respondents *most strongly disagreed*, is the opinion that same-sex marriage would be beneficial since it would introduce the possibility of shifting traditional gender roles in marriage (25). The implication is that marriage is a sacred, heterosexual institution that is off-limits to homosexuals. Instead these respondents *definitely agreed* that homosexuals should create 'positive, alternative family structures for themselves' (31).

Other arguments that justify the limitation of marriage to heterosexual couples are drawn from the cultural perspective. For example, respondents *definitely agreed* with the claim that same-sex marriage will never be accepted as equivalent to heterosexual marriage 'in my culture' (48), while arguments for same-sex marriage based on a cultural perspective were negatively ranked in the Factor B array. Respondents *strongly disagreed* that there was a possibility of integrating same-sex marriage into existing cultural norms (41) and *definitely disagreed* that same-sex marriage should be legalised here because it is becoming increasingly accepted 'in other cultures' (42).

Despite the fact that Factor B exemplifies a particularly strong opposition to same-sex marriage based on conservative and religious grounds, the factor array contains two significant acknowledgments of gay rights. These are presented in Table 4.8 below.

Table 4.8: The Gay Rights Anomalies in the Factor B Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Support H/L Rights	9. It is unconstitutional to deny same-sex couples the right to marry since this is unfair discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.	+4
Oppose H/L Rights	15. Same-sex marriage should <i>not</i> be legal because homosexuals are likely to abuse it by creating marriages of convenience in order to access the legal benefits of marriage.	-3

Respondents *definitely disagreed* with the contention that homosexual couples would abuse the institution of marriage simply to gain the legal benefits it affords (15). In addition, they *strongly agreed* that denying same-sex marriage amounts to unfair discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation (9). The ranking of this statement, particularly, is clearly inconsistent with the rest of the Factor B array and is significant in terms of the population from which this P set was drawn. As students of the law at UCT, the respondents in this study are all aware of the constitutional protection of the rights of lesbian and gay people. It is possible that Factor B respondents were expressing some ambivalence on this issue based on their legal training and awareness. Alternatively, this anomaly in the factor array may represent an acknowledgment that denying same-sex marriage constitutes a level of discrimination, which in light of the strong opposition to same-sex marriage on religious and moral grounds, may be deemed justifiable by respondents in Factor B.

4.4 Factor C

Factor C signifies the smallest factor numerically and also the most ambiguous in terms of the opinion on same-sex marriage that it represents. Overall, the Factor C array is 67% consistent with a supportive position on same-sex marriage. This indicates that the respondents who define this factor also have significant reservations about the legalisation of same-sex marriage.

This ambivalence towards the legalisation of same-sex marriage is immediately visible when one reviews the statements that are ranked at the extreme ends of the Factor C array. These items are listed below in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Most Important Items in the Factor C Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Support Child/Family	33. Children are already being raised by gay and lesbian people. Same-sex marriage would benefit these children because it would provide social recognition for their families.	+5
Oppose H/L Rights	16. Same-sex marriage is <i>not</i> necessary. Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to register their relationships as domestic partnerships in order to receive the same legal rights as married people.	+5
Oppose Radical	31. Gay and lesbian couples should <i>not</i> work towards inclusion in the heterosexual model of marriage but should create positive, alternative 'family structures' for themselves.	+5
Support Conservative	19. Same-sex marriage would strengthen the institution of marriage because more people would accept that marriage is an important institution for a stable society.	-5
Oppose Culture	47. Same-sex marriage is an idea that originated in other cultures and it should <i>not</i> be forced on our culture.	-5
Oppose Religious	8. Religious communities should <i>not</i> accept same-sex marriage, even if the state legalises it.	-5

Starting with the statements with which respondents *most strongly agreed*, it is clear that the legalisation of same-sex marriage is considered important for the social recognition this would accord to children being raised in lesbian and gay relationships (33). And yet, there are strong indications that respondents in this factor believe that the provision of a domestic partnership arrangement (16) or another 'alternative, positive family structure' (31) would be preferable to the legalisation of same-sex marriage.

The rationale behind such an argument is not yet clear and is not made any clearer by reviewing the statements ranked *most strongly disagree*. Respondents *strongly disagreed* that same-sex marriage would strengthen the institution of marriage through affirming that marriage is an important institution for a stable society (19). Arguments against same-sex marriage from religious and cultural perspectives were also represented in this category. The

argument against same-sex marriage based on the idea that the concept did not originate in this culture (47) was strongly rejected as was the argument that religious communities should not accept same-sex marriage even if the state legalises it (8).

It is important to acknowledge that thus far Factor C does not appear to represent a coherent opinion in terms of the categorisation of the items as they were conceptualised in the structure of the Q sample. The interpretation of Factor C, therefore, proceeds as a search for themes in order to make sense of the range of items that were significantly ranked.

One strong theme that begins to emerge as the other significant items are factored in is a refusal to be associated with negative stereotypes of homosexuality. The statements that substantiate this position are presented in Table 4.10 below.

Table 4.10: Rejecting Negative Stereotypes of Homosexuality in the Factor C Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Oppose Conservative	21. Marriage is a long-term, monogamous union which should <i>not</i> be extended to homosexuals (especially men) since they are naturally promiscuous and unable to remain true to a marriage commitment.	-4
Oppose Conservative	24. The relationships of homosexuals should <i>not</i> be recognised as marriages because the sexual acts and lifestyle choices of homosexuals are unnatural and immoral.	-4
Oppose Child/Family	39. Same-sex marriage is a bad idea because children raised within same-sex marriages are more likely to become homosexuals themselves.	-3

Factor C respondents *strongly disagreed* with the assertion that homosexuals (especially gay men) are promiscuous and unable to remain true to marriage vows (21) along with the contention that marriage should be denied to homosexuals since their lifestyles and behaviours are 'unnatural and immoral' (24). Furthermore, respondents in this factor *definitely disagreed* that children raised by gay couples are likely to become homosexuals (39) thus rejecting another stereotype relating to the danger that homosexuality presents for children.

The second clear theme, which is largely consistent with the first, is the rejection of strongly-worded, openly conservative arguments against same-sex marriage from both religious and cultural perspectives. The items that signify this theme are presented below in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: The Position Against Conservative Arguments in the Factor C Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Support Religious	3. Marriage is <i>not</i> just about procreation (having children). Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to marry despite the fact that they are <i>not</i> able to produce children.	+3
Support Cultural	41. Same-sex marriage should be integrated into existing cultural norms.	+3
Oppose Religious	8. Religious communities should <i>not</i> accept same-sex marriage, even if the state legalises it.	-5
Oppose Cultural	47. Same-sex marriage is an idea that originated in other cultures and it should <i>not</i> be forced on our culture.	-5
Oppose Radical	29. Same-sex marriage would <i>not</i> be beneficial because it would lead gay and lesbian people into the mainstream and destroy independent gay culture.	-4
Oppose Religious	7. If God wanted homosexuals to marry one another He would have created 'Adam and Steve' instead of 'Adam and Eve'.	-3
Oppose Religious	5. Since homosexuals <i>cannot</i> procreate naturally, in the way that God intended, they should <i>not</i> be allowed to get married.	-3
Oppose Cultural	45. In my culture, men must behave like men and women must behave like women. Marriage between people of the same sex should therefore not be allowed because it would be socially disruptive.	-3

The first religious item appeared in the list of items with which the respondents in this factor *most strongly disagreed*. It contains an argument for religious refusal to accept same-sex marriage even if it is legalised (8). The fact that this is accorded highly negative salience could indicate a belief in the power of a secular state to determine social change. An item with which respondents *definitely disagreed* is the rather provocative statement that God would have created 'Adam and Steve' if same-sex marriage was part of His plan (7). The (often religious) requirement of the potential for procreation as a prerequisite for marriage (5) was clearly refuted (*definitely disagree*) while respondents *definitely agreed* that lesbian and gay couples should be allowed to marry despite their inability to procreate (3).

Despite the rejection of the conservative, religious viewpoints on same-sex marriage, there is a striking absence of arguments for the religious blessing of same-sex unions amongst the positively ranked items. This may reflect a lack of strong religious beliefs or a belief in the significance of the secular state as the most important agent for social change. Alternatively, this could suggest a level of discomfort with the idea that religious communities would *choose* to bless the unions of committed, loving same-sex couples.

The ranking of cultural arguments relating to the issue of same-sex marriage follows the same model of rejecting the openly conservative arguments and motivating for a level of cultural acceptance. Factor C respondents *most strongly disagreed* with the contention that same-sex marriage did not originate in our culture and should not be forced on us (47). Another item with which respondents *definitely disagreed* was the contention that same-sex marriage should not be allowed since it would disrupt culturally-defined gender roles (45). The fact that the opinion that same-sex marriage should be integrated into existing cultural norms (41) was ranked in the *definitely agree* category introduces the concept that gay marriage could be accepted within mainstream society. If this is read in conjunction with the strong negative ranking (*strongly disagree*) of the argument against same-sex marriage based on concerns that this would destroy independent gay culture (29), it could be assumed that Factor C respondents either believe that it would be beneficial for gay people to be part of the mainstream or would themselves feel more comfortable if this were the case.

A concern for the well-being of lesbians and gay men constitutes another important theme that is apparent from the factor array. The items relevant to this position are presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Concern for the Well-being of Lesbians and Gay Men in the Factor C Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Support H/L Rights	10. Same-sex marriage is necessary in order for gay and lesbian life-partners to automatically access the full range of legal rights and duties that apply to married couples (e.g. inheritance rights, duty of mutual support, etc.).	+4
Support Conservative	18. If same-sex couples could marry, their families and communities would find it easier to accept them. Such acceptance would be good for the self-esteem of lesbian and gay people, would minimise disruption to families and would therefore help maintain a stable society.	+4
Support H/L Rights	11. Under our present Constitution, same-sex couples should be given the right to marry in recognition of their right to dignity and respect.	+3
Support Radical	28. Same-sex marriage should be legalised as it would acknowledge the legitimacy of gay and lesbian relationships.	+3

Respondents *strongly agreed* that gay couples should have the right to access the legal benefits and responsibilities of marriage (10) and *definitely agreed* that they deserved the constitutional right to dignity through the conferring of same-sex marriage (11). Furthermore, Factor C respondents *definitely agreed* that the relationships of lesbian and gay couples should be treated with respect and acknowledged as legitimate unions (28). Part of the reason for this seems to derive from a *strong agreement* that an acknowledgement of lesbian and gay relationships (potentially through same-sex marriage) would increase the family and community acceptance of homosexual couples, thereby increasing the self-esteem of lesbian and gay couples and individuals (18). This concern echoes the sentiments about the mainstream acceptance of same-sex couples that were expressed in the previous paragraph.

It is clear that Factor C respondents believe in the significance of recognising lesbian and gay unions. The question that remains is *how* these unions should be recognised. Based on the above analysis, it is now possible to make sense of the seemingly contradictory views that were highlighted at the start of this section.

Despite this factor's clear rejection of the negative stereotypes of homosexual lifestyles and behaviour combined with a concern for the well-being and social acceptance of lesbian and

gay couples, the respondents in Factor C are not of the opinion that marriage as an institution should be extended to homosexuals. Factor C thus exemplifies an anti-discrimination position on homosexuality that stops short of the extension of marriage to gay couples. This is starkly revealed when one considers that Factor C respondents *strongly agreed* with the conservative statement that dismisses the possibility of gay marriage on the basis that marriage is defined as a union between a man and a woman (22). This statement and the others that confirm this position are presented below in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: The Anti Same-sex Marriage Position in the Factor C Array

Direction	Item	Rank
Oppose H/L Rights	16. Same-sex marriage is <i>not</i> necessary. Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to register their relationships as domestic partnerships in order to receive the same legal rights as married people.	+5
Oppose Radical	31. Gay and lesbian couples should <i>not</i> work towards inclusion in the heterosexual model of marriage but should create positive, alternative 'family structures' for themselves.	+5
Oppose Conservative	22. Marriage by definition is a union between a man and a woman. Gay marriage is therefore nonsensical.	+4
Oppose Radical	30. Same-sex marriage should <i>not</i> be legalised because it would entrench marriage as the only acceptable relationship choice and marginalise all alternative lifestyle choices.	+4
Support Conservative	19. Same-sex marriage would strengthen the institution of marriage because more people would accept that marriage is an important institution for a stable society.	-5
Support Radical	26. Same-sex marriage would be a positive development as it would open the way for a radical transformation of the institution of marriage.	-3

Respondents in this factor *definitely disagreed* that marriage should be radically transformed (26) and *most strongly disagreed* that the extension of marriage to same-sex couples would strengthen the institution of marriage (19). Instead, Factor C respondents *most strongly agreed* with the development of a domestic partnership arrangement to ensure that homosexual couples have access to the full range of legal rights that married couples are accorded (16). Presumably, this represents the 'positive, alternative family structure' (31) which Factor C respondents *most strongly agreed* that lesbian and gay couples should work towards. In the context of this response to same-sex marriage, the concern that same-sex

marriage would entrench marriage as the only acceptable relationship choice (30), included in the *strongly agree* category, is more likely to be a justification for limiting marriage to heterosexuals rather than a concern about preserving diversity.

Factor C thus exemplifies an anti-discriminatory position on homosexuality that does not extend to the provision of same-sex marriage. Ideally, homosexual couples should have access to an alternative, preferably equivalent institution rather than the institution of marriage itself.

In summary, Factor A exemplifies an opinion in support of same-sex marriage based on a strong belief in individual human rights, a clear rejection of negative stereotypes of homosexuality and a belief in the importance of social change. Factor B represents strong opposition to same-sex marriage based on religious and conservative condemnation of homosexuality, and a defence of traditional marriage. Factor C signifies a strong anti-discrimination perspective on homosexuality that does not extend to the provision of same-sex marriage. Marriage is defended as a heterosexual institution and an equivalent, alternative institution for gay couples is advocated.

4.5 Factor -A

In stark contrast to Factor A, the single Q sort in this sub-factor represents a clear position against same-sex marriage predicated on a denial of individual human and legal rights, negative stereotypes of homosexuality, strong religious sanction, and concerns that same-sex parenting is damaging for children. Also included are the moral judgements inherent in many of the conservative items, and arguments about normative cultural beliefs and practices. The

denial of same-sex marriage is thus justified from many different perspectives; all of which are underpinned by a deep conservatism.

4.6 Factor Groupings

Factor groupings are derivatives of the main factors and are not subjected to independent statistical analysis. Consequently, it is only possible to comment descriptively on the position on same-sex marriage that each signifies.

The respondents in the '**A / -B**' group support same-sex marriage from an individual rights perspective and more strongly reject the religious and conservative opposition than other Factor A respondents.

On the other hand, the '**-A / B**' group exemplifies strong religious and conservative opposition to same-sex marriage combined with active opposition to the individual rights argument for same-sex marriage.

The '**A / C**' group combines an individual rights perspective on same-sex marriage with strong anti-discrimination principles but does not unequivocally support the legalisation of same-sex marriage. The respondents in this group appear undecided about whether same-sex couples should be granted full marriage or the domestic partnership alternative.

Finally, the '**A / -B / C**' group can broadly be described as one that is supportive of same-sex marriage, or some equivalent of marriage, on the basis of an individual rights perspective and a belief in the importance of non-discrimination, while actively opposing religious and

conservative opposition to gay marriage. Again, the respondents are ambivalent about whether same-sex marriage or domestic partnerships should be available to lesbian and gay couples.

Each factor and group represents a distinct opinion on same-sex marriage that is shared by a number of respondents. These opinions can be divided into those that are supportive of the legalisation of same-sex marriage and those that are opposed (with the exception of groups 'A/C' and 'A/-B/C' whose respondents are undecided as to whether they support same-sex marriage or advocate domestic partnerships).

Factor A and Group 'A/-B' both represent unequivocally supportive positions on the legalisation of same-sex marriage. Together they represent 52% of the total sample thus constituting a majority position on the issue of legalising same-sex marriage. Factor B, Factor -A and Group '-A/B' all represent very strong opposition to the legalisation of same-sex marriage based on conservative and religious condemnation of homosexuality, and for some, a clear rejection of the human rights frame symbolised by Factor A. Together they constitute 20% of the total participant sample. Factor C constitutes 11% of the total sample. This position signifies an anti-discrimination perspective on homosexuality that stops short of supporting same-sex marriage and advocates the provision of domestic partnerships for same-sex couples.

The demographic data and scores on the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale – Short Form (ATLG-S) that correspond to each of these positions are discussed below.

4.7 Demographic Data

The demographic information is presented in this section in terms of the positions on the legalisation of same-sex marriage that are outlined in the section above. Since the P set (person-sample) is very small in statistical terms, this data is summarised in a number of tables. A summary of this information is contained in Appendix 7.

The gender distribution across the three positions on same-sex marriage is represented below in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Gender Representation

	Unequivocal Support for Same-sex Marriage		Religious Opposition to Same-sex Marriage		Domestic Partnership Alternative	
Male N = 13	n = 7	54%	n = 3	23%	n = 1	8%
Female N = 31	n = 16	52%	n = 6	19%	n = 4	13%

The racial representation within each perspective on same-sex marriage is presented below in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Racial Representation

	Unequivocal Support for Same-sex Marriage		Religious Opposition to Same-sex Marriage		Domestic Partnership Alternative	
Black N = 8	n = 4	50%	n = 3	38%	n = 1	13%
White N = 30	n = 16	53%	n = 5	17%	n = 3	10%
Coloured N = 3	n = 1	33%	n = 1	33%		
Indian N = 3	n = 2	67%			n = 1	33%

The religious affiliations claimed by respondents within each position on same-sex marriage are represented in Table 4.16 below.

Table 4.16: Religious Affiliation

		Unequivocal Support for Same-sex Marriage	Religious Opposition to Same-sex Marriage	Domestic Partnership Alternative
Christian	N = 22	n = 10 45%	n = 4 18%	n = 4 18%
Evangelical	N = 5	n = 1 20%	n = 4 80%	
Muslim	N = 3	n = 2 67%	n = 1 33%	
Jewish	N = 4	n = 2 50%		n = 1 25%
None	N = 10	n = 8 80%		

The extent of the respondents' interpersonal contact with homosexuals according to the perspectives on same-sex marriage is represented in Table 4.17 below.

Table 4.17: Exposure to Homosexuals

		Unequivocal Support for Same-sex Marriage	Religious Opposition to Same-sex Marriage	Domestic Partnership Alternative
Yes	N = 35	n = 19 83%	n = 5 56%	n = 4 80%
No	N = 9	n = 4 17%	n = 4 44%	n = 1 20%

4.8 Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale – Short-Form

In this study, a Cronbach reliability analysis revealed an acceptably high level of internal reliability for the ATLG-S ($\alpha = 0.90$). ATLG-S scores for respondents in this study ranged between 11 and 88, with a mean of 34.61 and a standard deviation of 20.52. The median score was 28. This is substantially lower than the midpoint score of 50 which indicates that the majority of these respondents expressed positive attitudes toward homosexuality. The number of respondents within each perspective who scored above and below the median and midpoint scores is represented in Table 4.18 below.

Table 4.18: *Attitudes Toward Homosexuality*

	Unequivocal Support for Same-sex Marriage		Religious Opposition to Same-sex Marriage		Domestic Partnership Alternative	
Negative Attitudes			n = 6	67%	n = 1	20%
Positive Attitudes	n = 23	100%	n = 3	33%	n = 4	80%
> Median Score	n = 5	22%	n = 9	100%	n = 5	100%
< Median Score	n = 18	78%				

The respondents who supported the legalisation of same-sex marriage from a human rights perspective and rejected religious and moral judgements of homosexuality, all scored below the midpoint score on the ATLG-S. Furthermore, over three quarters of these respondents scored below the sample median score. Based on these results, it is clear that the respondents who unequivocally supported same-sex marriage also expressed very positive attitudes toward homosexuality. By contrast, those who opposed same-sex marriage based on strong religious condemnation of homosexuality, held the most negative attitudes toward homosexuality within this sample. Two thirds of these respondents expressed negative attitudes toward homosexuality. The clear majority of the respondents advocating domestic partnerships for same-sex couples indicated that they held positive attitudes toward homosexuality; however, they all scored above the sample median.

The results of the ATLG-S thus indicate that respondents' responses to homosexuality were reflected in the opinions on same-sex marriage with which they are associated. Those associated with a strong human rights perspective and support for same-sex marriage demonstrated the most positive attitudes toward homosexuality. The group that expressed strong anti-discrimination views on homosexuality but advocated domestic partnership for gay couples held slightly less positive views. Finally, the most negative attitudes toward

homosexuality were associated with the respondents that opposed same-sex marriage on religious and conservative grounds.

University of Cape Town

5 DISCUSSION

This Q methodological research into the opinions of heterosexual law students at UCT on the legalisation of same-sex marriage suggests that there are three main responses to the issue. Just over half of the participants unambiguously supported the legalisation of same-sex marriage based on the principle of equality and a strong human rights approach. The remaining participants either strongly opposed the legalisation of same-sex marriage on religious grounds, or advocated domestic partnership as a mechanism for the legal recognition of same-sex couples. The Q sort data, supplemented by the respondents' demographic information and their scores on the short form of the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG-S), indicates that these perspectives were informed by a combination of the respondents' views on homosexuality and their beliefs about the institution of marriage.

5.1 Unequivocal Support for Same-sex Marriage

The respondents defining this position expressed unequivocal support for same-sex marriage based principally on a human rights approach to the issue. Human rights arguments for same-sex marriage are founded on the 'equality clause' in the South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) which specifies that it is unconstitutional to discriminate against any person on the basis of their sexual orientation. The respondents in this perspective accorded these arguments the highest possible salience. They strongly asserted that same-sex marriage would protect the rights of same-sex couples to be treated with dignity and shielded from discrimination based on their sexual orientation. These respondents also recognised the rights of lesbian and gay life-partners to access the numerous legal benefits and duties that are

accorded to married couples. In addition, they affirmed a belief that the right to marry is a fundamental one which should not be denied to lesbians and gay men. Read together, these arguments constitute a strong endorsement of the right to equality. This right is invoked in human rights discourse to argue that denying same-sex marriage validates negative stereotypes of homosexuals and confers a second-class citizenship on lesbians and gay men (Moss, 2002).

The rejection of negative stereotypes of homosexuality constituted another important theme within this perspective. The human rights and legal discourses that justify the limitation of marriage to heterosexuals do so primarily on the basis of assumptions that homosexuals cannot form lasting relationships and are likely to abuse the institution of marriage. These contentions were strongly rejected by the respondents who supported same-sex marriage. Conservative judgments of homosexual unions as unnatural, immoral and inherently non-monogamous were similarly dismissed within this factor, as were religious and conservative definitions of marriage as a heterosexual institution in accordance with God's plan for humanity. Instead, these respondents considered homosexuality to be a universal phenomenon and asserted that lesbian and gay relationships deserve the same recognition and legitimacy as heterosexual relationships.

The fact that these respondents rejected negative stereotypes of homosexuality suggests that they hold positive attitudes toward homosexuals. This was verified by the fact that none of the respondents in this group expressed negative attitudes toward homosexuals on the ATLG-S. Furthermore, this perspective was associated with the most positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Positive attitudes toward homosexuals are consistently correlated with interpersonal contact with individual lesbians or gay men (D'Augelli & Rose,

1990; Herek & Capitano, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Klamen et al., 1999; Schellenberg et al., 1999). This association was confirmed in this study since almost all of the respondents who identified with this perspective indicated that they had friends or family members who identified as lesbian or gay. Furthermore, it seems likely that this level of exposure to homosexuals informed these respondents' rejection of negative stereotypes of homosexuals and their strong support for the legal recognition of same-sex relationships.

Support for same-sex marriage was partly founded on concern for the rights and well-being of children raised by lesbian and gay parents, and how these may be enhanced by the legalisation of same-sex marriage. This included the assertions that children would benefit from the social recognition and acceptance of their families, and that financial and legal protection of these children was necessary in the event that same-sex caregivers separated. These respondents rejected arguments against same-sex marriage based on assumptions that homosexual parenting is detrimental to children and that children are more likely to become homosexual if they are raised in a lesbian or gay home. This viewpoint is in line with research evidence that there are no significant differences in the psychological adjustment or gender identity development of children raised by heterosexual parents and those raised by lesbian parents (Chan et al., 1998; Flaks et al., 1995; Golombok et al., 1997; Golombok & Perry et al. 2003; Patterson, 1994).

Respondents in this factor rejected some of the religious arguments against same-sex marriage and did not otherwise consider religious arguments highly salient to their opinion on same-sex marriage. People who have strong religious beliefs generally hold more negative attitudes toward homosexuals (Berkman & Zinberg, 1997; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Johnson, et al., 1997). This suggests that respondents who supported the legalisation of same-sex

marriage do not hold strong religious beliefs or that they belong to religious communities that are more tolerant of homosexuality.

Respondents who supported the legalisation of same-sex marriage rejected the notion that marriage should remain unchanged in order to preserve fixed gender roles. Rather, same-sex marriage was construed as a mechanism of social change with the potential to positively transform society. This represents a radical position motivating for fundamental changes in society's approach to homosexuality and the institution of marriage.

5.2 Strong Religious Opposition to Same-sex Marriage

Respondents within this perspective accorded a highly positive ranking to every religious statement that argued against the legalisation of same-sex marriage. These arguments were based on strong religious condemnation of homosexuality, a belief that heterosexuality is God-given and natural, and that procreation is central to any marital union. The majority of religious statements in support of same-sex marriage were rejected by these respondents, thus indicating that any form of religious acceptance or blessing of same-sex unions is considered unacceptable within this religious framework.

From this perspective, marriage was viewed as a heterosexual institution with clearly defined gender roles that, by definition, excluded homosexual couples. These respondents held the view that lesbian and gay relationships were inferior to heterosexual relationships and were unable to meet the criteria of marriage. Consequently, they asserted that the inclusion of same-sex couples in the institution of marriage would threaten the status and significance of marriage in society. Marriage was thus defended as a circumscribed institution that was not

open to transformation and was certainly not open to homosexuals. Instead, these respondents stressed the need for lesbian and gay couples to create their own alternative to marriage.

The opposition to same-sex marriage within this perspective was clearly based on inflexible notions of marriage and strong religious and conservative condemnation of homosexuality. These respondents' scores on the ATLG-S demonstrated that this group expressed the strongest negative response to homosexuality within this sample. Indeed, two thirds of these respondents held negative attitudes toward homosexuals, which substantiates the view that their opposition to same-sex marriage was partly informed by negative responses to homosexuality. This finding also confirms the correlation between strong religious beliefs and negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (Berkman & Zinberg, 1997; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Herek, 1994; Johnson, et al., 1997; Seltzer, 1992).

The fact that these respondents condemned homosexuality and opposed the legalisation of same-sex marriage may also be based on their relatively limited exposure to individual lesbians and gay men. Just over half of the respondents who opposed the legalisation of same-sex marriage indicated that they had personal contact with homosexuals either in their families or circles of friends. This represents a significantly reduced level of exposure to homosexuals relative to the respondents who strongly supported the legalisation of same-sex marriage. The relatively low level of interpersonal contact with lesbians and gay men that was reported by these respondents is explicable in terms of the negative attitudes toward homosexuality that informs this perspective's response to same-sex marriage. People who strongly condemn homosexuality from a religious perspective are unlikely to socialise voluntarily with lesbians or gay men. It seems even less likely that individual lesbians and gay men would choose to interact with people who strongly condemn homosexuality on

religious and moral grounds. Those who oppose same-sex marriage based partly on the religious condemnation of homosexuality are thus unlikely to engage in the kind of contact with homosexuals that could result in a more positive attitude toward homosexuals (Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Simon, 1998).

Despite their religious and moral condemnation of homosexuality, respondents who unambiguously opposed the legalisation of same-sex marriage indicated that they did not believe that homosexuals would abuse the institution of marriage to gain access to the legal benefits it affords. It appears that the defence of heterosexual marriage within this perspective was founded on concerns about how homosexual couples would detract from the institution of marriage, rather than resistance to the fact that marriage would accord legal benefits to same-sex couples. Interestingly, these respondents also acknowledged that the denial of marriage to same-sex couples is unconstitutional. This acknowledgment could signify that these respondents supported lesbian and gay rights despite holding negative attitudes toward homosexuality. This discrepancy has been demonstrated in other studies assessing attitudes toward homosexuals and their rights (Kite & Whitley, 1998). In view of the strength of this perspective's religious and conservative condemnation of homosexuality, however, this discrepancy is more likely to be a function of the population from which the sample was drawn. As students of the law at UCT, the participants in this study were all aware of the constitutional protection of the rights of lesbians and gay men. The respondents associated with this perspective may simply have acknowledged something they had been taught as fact, while still holding a view that such discrimination was justifiable.

5.3 The Domestic Partnership Alternative

The respondents who advocated the legal recognition of same-sex couples through the provision of domestic partnerships strongly rejected negative stereotypes of homosexuality. These included assertions that lesbians and gay men engage in unnatural acts, choose immoral lifestyles, are naturally promiscuous and are incapable of forming lasting commitments. In addition to their rejection of anti-gay prejudice, these respondents expressed concern about the well-being of homosexuals in society. They argued that the legitimacy of long-term lesbian and gay relationships should be recognised in the law and that same-sex life partners should be granted the same legal benefits as heterosexual married couples. Furthermore, they asserted that the recognition of homosexual relationships would improve the self-esteem of young lesbian and gay people by increasing societal acceptance of homosexuality and facilitating family and community support for lesbian and gay youth. Other research has demonstrated that homosexual youth are particularly vulnerable to peer and parental victimisation as a result of their sexual orientation, which increases their vulnerability to mental health difficulties, including anxiety, depression and suicidality (Hershberger & D'Augelli, 1995; Lebson, 2002).

The rejection of discrimination against homosexuals and concern for their well-being within this perspective indicates a positive attitude toward homosexuals that was largely verified by this group's scores on the ATLG-S. All but one of these respondents expressed a positive attitude toward homosexuals. The association between a positive response to homosexuality and personal contact with individual lesbians and gay men (D'Augelli & Rose, 1990; Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Klamen et al., 1999; Schellenberg et al., 1999) was also confirmed, since almost all of these respondents indicated that they had friends or family

members who identified as homosexual. However, the association between positive attitudes toward homosexuals and support for same-sex marriage that was demonstrated with the group that supported same-sex marriage did not hold for these respondents. Although the respondents in this factor expressed some ambivalence about the extension of marriage to same-sex couples, they ultimately motivated for the provision of same-sex domestic partnership. Since these respondents expressed positive views of homosexuality and clearly indicated their support for the equal treatment of homosexuals in society, it is necessary to explore their responses to marriage in order to make sense of their opposition to same-sex marriage.

Respondents who motivated for same-sex domestic partnership disagreed with the contention that marriage is based on fixed gender roles that would be violated by the inclusion of same-sex couples. They also rejected conservative, religious opposition to same-sex marriage based on assertions that heterosexuality is God-given and that procreation is central to the marital union. Indeed, these respondents were clear that religious communities should accept same-sex marriage if the state legalises it. There was, however, a notable absence of arguments for the religious blessing of same-sex unions. It is possible that this omission indicates a level of discomfort with the notion that religious communities would choose to bless same-sex unions. Despite their rejection of the explicitly conservative religious doctrines relating to homosexuality, it is possible that these respondents hold religious constructions of marriage and the family which are not open to change.

Ultimately, these respondents strongly defended marriage as a heterosexual institution that is not open to the kind of radical transformation required for the inclusion of same-sex couples. They asserted that same-sex marriage would not benefit the institution of marriage in any

way and argued that the rights of same-sex couples should be realised through the provision of domestic partnerships. In other words, respondents in this perspective asserted an anti-discrimination position on homosexuality, expressed positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men but advocated that the relationships of homosexual couples should continue to be distinguished from those of heterosexual couples through differential legal recognition. This largely confirms other research findings that the right of homosexuals to marry generally receives less support than other rights (Ellis, 2002; Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998). Some writers have postulated that same-sex marriage and parenting are more strongly resisted because they relate to the performance of gender roles (Kite & Whitley, 1996, 1998). This explanation does not seem applicable in this case, since these respondents rejected notions of marriage based on fixed gender roles. An alternative explanation is that the inconsistent support for the rights of homosexuals to marry and parent reflects an impoverished understanding of human rights (Ellis, 2002). The latter argument is also unlikely to apply in this case since the respondents are law students who have been exposed to debates on the human rights of lesbians and gay men. It is possible that these respondents' positive views of homosexuality were overridden by inflexible notions of marriage based on religious beliefs. However, further research is necessary to clarify why same-sex marriage was rejected by a group of respondents who asserted a strong anti-discrimination perspective on homosexuality.

5.4 Conclusions

The three perspectives on same-sex marriage that were identified in this research can be understood in terms of the respondents' responses to homosexuality and views on marriage. Unequivocal support for the legalisation of same-sex marriage was founded on a human

rights approach and the principle of equality. This perspective exemplified a belief in the universality of homosexuality and a rejection of negative stereotypes of homosexuality. It also signified a view that the institution of marriage should not remain fixed, and that same-sex marriage could act as a mechanism of social change with the potential to positively transform society. Strong religious opposition to same-sex marriage was predicated on religious and moral condemnation of homosexuality. Within this perspective, marriage was defended as a heterosexual institution based on the religious requirement of procreation. Those who advocated the legalisation of domestic partnership expressed an anti-discrimination position in relation to homosexuality that did not extend to the provision of same-sex marriage. From this perspective, marriage was defined as an inherently heterosexual institution that was closed to radical change and therefore closed to homosexual couples. Domestic partnership was advocated as an alternative to same-sex marriage in order to ensure that the rights of same-sex couples are protected.

These findings suggest that the legalisation of same-sex marriage would be accepted by many heterosexual South African students and vociferously rejected on religious grounds by a small but vocal minority. It may be possible to intervene with religious leaders to influence the views of those who strongly condemn homosexuality and any form of legal recognition for same-sex couples on religious grounds. However, this would rely on the willingness of religious leaders to meet with religious lesbians and gay men and challenge their cognitions (or stereotypes) about homosexuality. Ideally, this process would be endorsed by influential leaders in religious communities. In view of the strength of religious opposition to homosexuality, however, this type of intervention is not likely to be widely embraced.

Advocates of domestic partnership for same-sex couples argue that this alternative represents an acceptable compromise, since it allows for the legal protection of lesbian and gay couples without threatening existing notions of marriage and the family (Eskridge, 2001). However, domestic partnership for same-sex couples represents differential treatment of homosexual and heterosexual couples. Furthermore, accepting that marriage will remain a heterosexual institution constitutes an acceptance that homosexuality will never be valued in the way that heterosexuality is valued. Unless lesbians and gay men are *equally* valued in society they will continue to be vulnerable to discrimination and abuse.

Research evidence has demonstrated that the social stigma attached to homosexuality results in the victimisation of gay youth and young adults, thus compromising the mental health of lesbians and gay men from an early age (Cochran, 2001; Cochran, Sullivan & Mays, 2003; Hershberger & D'Augelli, 1995). One method of intervening to limit this stigma is to establish training programmes on tolerance and sexual diversity to be conducted at schools for teachers and parents. The aim of such an intervention would be to shift negative perceptions of homosexuality and encourage dialogue with children, at home and school, about homosexuality as well as heterosexuality.

At the same time, extending marriage to same-sex couples would signify the full social and legal recognition of homosexuals in society and would constitute a significant victory over homophobia. This would entail radical alterations to existing notions of marriage and family. However, these would be positive changes that would contribute to the mental health and well-being of lesbians and gay men of all ages and create a more tolerant society.

5.5 Limitations of the Study

This study was conceptualised as an exploration of law students' opinions on same-sex marriage. This area of research was deemed particularly interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, same-sex marriage has been strongly resisted wherever it has been debated. Consequently, despite decades of gay activism, there is only one country in the world where the institution of marriage is available to lesbian and gay couples. By contrast, domestic partnership has become widely accepted and endorsed throughout Europe and North America. The fact that same-sex marriage is so much more contentious than domestic partnership indicated that it would be more interesting to investigate. Secondly, the current review of the marriage legislation in South Africa could result in the legalisation of same-sex marriage in this country. South Africa may become the second country in the world, and the first on the African continent, to legalise same-sex marriage. This intensifies the significance of the debate on same-sex marriage in this context. Finally, it was assumed that the social recognition of lesbian and gay relationships through marriage would be important for the mental health and well-being of lesbians and gay men, many of whom have experienced family and societal rejection.

This conceptualisation of the research topic did not account for the manner in which debates on same-sex marriage have become bound up with debates on domestic partnership. Consequently, despite efforts to exclude it from the study, domestic partnership emerged as one of the main responses to same-sex marriage. Unfortunately, the fact that domestic partnership was not fully considered in the conceptual stages of this study, limited the degree to which this position could be fully explored in the interpretation of the results.

There are also a number of methodological limitations which may have impacted on the research results. The first relates to the structure of the Q sample. The *categories* were based on the main perspectives on same-sex marriage that were identified after an extensive review of the literature. However, the *perspectives* (i.e. 'support same-sex marriage' or 'oppose same-sex marriage') were imposed in an attempt to ensure that (at least) two, discrete positions would emerge from the data. This 'level' of the structure did not acknowledge the complexity of the debates on same-sex marriage and resulted in the construction of a couple of items that were not drawn directly from the texts (e.g. some of the cultural arguments for same-sex marriage). This structure also introduced a level of researcher bias in that it facilitated the exclusion of opinions that the researcher deemed irrelevant. A good example is the omission of debates on domestic partnership as an alternative to same-sex marriage. While this limitation did not seriously impede the interpretation of the Q sort data, it did limit the available material with which respondents could express their opinions on same-sex marriage.

Secondly, the construction of the Q sample statements may have complicated the Q sort more than was necessary. Many items were fairly lengthy and required careful reading and a high level of concentration in order to discriminate between items. Fortunately, all of the respondents were capable of this level of concentration and were prepared to complete the task despite the effort it required. However, this study would not be easily replicated in its current form with many other samples.

Thirdly, the data collected through the Q sort, demographic information and ATLG-S could have been supplemented by individual interviews with each respondent. Although the existing research tools generated rich and interesting data relating to the respondents'

opinions on same-sex marriage, there were some issues that required further clarification. One example is the explanation of the anti-discrimination, anti-gay marriage position expressed by those who advocated the provision of domestic partnership for same-sex couples.

The final limitation relates to the sampling procedure and its impact on the generalisability of the research findings. Same-sex marriage is a contentious issue that elicits strong reactions from many people. The self-selection of the sample may thus have biased the representation of the different perspectives. Potential respondents who held strong views on same-sex marriage were more likely to participate than those whose opinions on the issue were less definite or less vociferous. For example, those who support the rights of homosexuals generally but are not comfortable with the notion of same-sex marriage may have elected not to participate in this research. In other words, the perspective advocating domestic partnership may be more representative of the population sampled than the current study indicates.

The use of a student or convenience sample limits the degree to which the findings can be generalised to the general population. Furthermore, the population of law students at UCT have been exposed to debates about lesbian and gay equality and thus hold 'specialist' knowledge that other students at UCT may not have. Consequently, it is unclear whether the three perspectives identified in this research would be replicated or similarly constituted in studies conducted with other student populations.

5.6 Recommendations for Future Research

Similar studies could be conducted with other populations of students who have not been exposed to the legal arguments surrounding same-sex marriage. The perspectives on same-sex marriage that emerge may reflect aspects of the respondents' academic training and may be very differently constituted from the opinions reported in this study.

Conducting a similar study with a sample from the general population could provide an understanding of responses to same-sex marriage across a broader spectrum of society. Research of this nature may prove difficult, however, since the Q sort is time-consuming, requires full literacy and intense concentration. An alternative method of assessing public opinions on same-sex marriage would be to derive a questionnaire, based on the opinions on same-sex marriage that have been identified, for administration with a broader sample of the population.

The opinions of South African lesbians and gay men on the issue of same-sex marriage have not been explored. Suggested areas of research include: assessing levels of support for same-sex marriage; the percentage of same-sex couples that would choose to get married; the integration of same-sex marriage into existing lesbian and gay lifestyles; the implications of constructions of marriage and family for lesbian and gay identities; and the impact that same-sex marriage could have on the mental health and well-being of lesbian and gay youth.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Operand Definitions of the Q Sample Perspectives

a) Support the legalisation of same-sex marriage

b) Oppose the legalisation of same-sex marriage

c) Religious

Arguments based on religious texts, belief systems or discourses. In relation to same-sex relationships, these generally focus on approaches to homosexuality broadly, different opinions on the essence of marriage and the role of religious structures in regulating social norms.

d) Human & Legal Rights

Arguments based on the rights enshrined in the South African Constitution (including the right to non-discrimination based on one's sexual orientation) as well as the legal consequences of marriage.

e) Normative/ Conservative

Arguments based on conservative traditions which focus on the importance of marriage as an institution that helps regulate sexuality, acts as moral guardian and contributes to the stability of society. Importance of reinforcing strong social and moral norms.

f) Radical / Transformative

Arguments based on critiques of conservative traditions and the need for radical social change, especially of social structures and institutions that are considered to be oppressive. Recognition of diversity is considered more valuable than entrenching strong social norms. Includes feminist critiques.

g) Children / Family

Arguments based on beliefs about the 'best interests of the children'. Includes the importance of positive role models and stable family structure for the development of healthy, well-adapted children.

h) Cultural Beliefs and Norms

Arguments based in discourses on the significance of cultural practice and tradition. Incorporates broad definitions of culture and more specific statements about cultural norms and practices.

Appendix 2: Complete List of Q Sample Statements

ac support – religious

1. Religious communities should bless unions based on love, commitment and honesty - regardless of whether the couple is heterosexual or homosexual.
2. It is time for the condemnation of homosexuals to end and for loving same-sex couples to have their relationships recognized and blessed within their religious communities.
3. Marriage is *not* just about procreation (having children). Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to marry despite the fact that they are *not* able to produce children.
4. Gay and lesbian people who are deeply religious should be allowed to have their unions blessed in a marriage ceremony.

bc oppose – religious

5. Since homosexuals *cannot* procreate naturally, in the way that God intended, they should *not* be allowed to get married.
6. The practice of homosexuality is an abomination in the eyes of God. Religious communities should *not* encourage same-sex relationships and should definitely *not* bless them in any way.
7. If God wanted homosexuals to marry one another He would have created 'Adam and Steve' instead of 'Adam and Eve'.
8. Religious communities should *not* accept same-sex marriage, even if the state legalizes it.

ad support – human and legal rights

9. It is unconstitutional to deny same-sex couples the right to marry since this is unfair discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.
10. Same-sex marriage is necessary in order for gay and lesbian life-partners to automatically access the full range of legal rights and duties that apply to married couples (e.g. inheritance rights, duty of mutual support, etc.).
11. Under our present Constitution, same-sex couples should be given the right to marry in recognition of their right to dignity and respect.
12. Same-sex marriage should be legalized because the right to marry is a fundamental human right.

bd oppose – human and legal rights

13. There is no need for same-sex marriage. Homosexuals already have the right to get married - just *not* to someone of the same sex.
14. Same-sex relationships *cannot* meet the standards of marriage (e.g. monogamy, fidelity and mutual support) and therefore should *not* receive the legal benefits of marriage.
15. Same-sex marriage should *not* be legal because homosexuals are likely to abuse it by creating marriages of convenience in order to access the legal benefits of marriage.
16. Same-sex marriage is *not* necessary. Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to register their relationships as domestic partnerships in order to receive the same legal rights as married people.

ae support – normative/ conservative

17. Society would benefit from same-sex marriage because it would help reduce promiscuity in the gay community (especially among men).
18. If same-sex couples could marry, their families and communities would find it easier to accept them. Such acceptance would be good for the self-esteem of lesbian and gay people, would minimise disruption to families and would therefore help maintain a stable society.
19. Same-sex marriage would strengthen the institution of marriage because more people would accept that marriage is an important institution for a stable society.

20. Marriage by definition involves a relationship between two people over time, which includes a sexual relationship, the possibility of bringing up children, expectations of mutual support and a ceremony which recognises the union. Gay and lesbian couples are able to meet these criteria and should therefore be allowed to marry.

be oppose – normative/ conservative

21. Marriage is a long-term, monogamous union which should *not* be extended to homosexuals (especially men) since they are naturally promiscuous and unable to remain true to a marriage commitment.
22. Marriage by definition is a union between a man and a woman. Gay marriage is therefore nonsensical.
23. Marriage as an institution is under threat from high divorce rates and increasing levels of single parenting. Opening marriage up to homosexual couples would undermine heterosexual marriage even further.
24. The relationships of homosexuals should *not* be recognized as marriages because the sexual acts and lifestyle choices of homosexuals are unnatural and immoral.

af support – radical/ transformative

25. Same-sex marriage would be beneficial because it would provide heterosexual couples with a model of a union that has more equal gender roles.
26. Same-sex marriage would be a positive development as it would open the way for a radical transformation of the institution of marriage.
27. The legalization of same-sex marriage would lead to greater acceptance of diversity. This has the potential to positively transform our society.
28. Same-sex marriage should be legalised as it would acknowledge the legitimacy of gay and lesbian relationships.

bf oppose – radical/ transformative

29. Same-sex marriage would *not* be beneficial because it would lead gay and lesbian people into the mainstream and destroy independent gay culture.
30. Same-sex marriage should *not* be legalized because it would entrench marriage as the only acceptable relationship choice and marginalize all alternative lifestyle choices.
31. Gay and lesbian couples should *not* work towards inclusion in the heterosexual model of marriage but should create positive, alternative 'family structures' for themselves.
32. Same-sex marriage should *not* be legalized because it would result in a different form of discrimination against gay and lesbian people. Those who were unable to find a long-term partner and those who chose *not* to get married would continue to be treated as outsiders in their families, communities and in the eyes of the law.

ag support – children/ family

33. Children are already being raised by gay and lesbian people. Same-sex marriage would benefit these children because it would provide social recognition for their families.
34. Same-sex marriage would encourage gay and lesbian families to stay together. This is important because children function better if they come from 2 parent homes, regardless of whether their parents are heterosexual or homosexual.
35. Same-sex marriage would be beneficial because children raised in gay and lesbian families would be financially protected in the event of a separation or divorce.
36. Same-sex marriage would be very positive for gay and lesbian youth because they would feel that their relationships are valued in society and it would provide a model of the families they could also aim to create.

bg oppose – children/ family

- 37. Same-sex marriages would *not* be good for children because children need both male and female role models to ensure healthy development.
- 38. Same-sex marriage should *not* be allowed because this will encourage homosexuals to have children. This is *not* in the best interests of any child.
- 39. Same-sex marriage is a bad idea because children raised within same-sex marriages are more likely to become homosexuals themselves.
- 40. Children need to have a strong sense of family values and should *not* be confused by too many alternatives (like gay marriages).

ah support – culture

- 41. Same-sex marriage should be integrated into existing cultural norms.
- 42. Same-sex marriage is becoming acceptable in many cultures and there is no reason that it should be rejected here.
- 43. Gay and lesbian people exist in every culture and should therefore be allowed to share in the culturally endorsed practice of marriage.
- 44. In view of the fact that cultural beliefs about male and female roles have changed considerably, same-sex marriage would *not* be anomalous.

bh oppose – culture

- 45. In my culture, men must behave like men and women must behave like women. Marriage between people of the same-sex should therefore *not* be allowed because it would be socially disruptive.
- 46. Permitting same-sex marriage would be an unacceptable violation of cultural norms.
- 47. Same-sex marriage is an idea that originated in other cultures and it should *not* be forced on our culture.
- 48. Same-sex marriage should *not* be legalized because in my culture same-sex marriage will never be accepted as equivalent to heterosexual marriage.

Appendix 3: Sample Answer Sheet including ATLG-S

Respondent _____

Your participation in this research and any information you provide will be treated as confidential.

[illegible]

Please complete the following demographic information.

Age: Gender:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Female
<input type="checkbox"/>	Male

Race:

The following racial categories were used during apartheid rule as part of a project to privilege certain 'groups' of people over others. Use of these categories does not in any way indicate support of this system.

	Black/ African
	Coloured
	White
	Indian
	Other

Religious affiliation:

	Christian Denominational Church e.g. Methodist, Roman Catholic
	Evangelical Christian Church e.g. His People, Rhema Church
	African Independent Church e.g. ZCC, NBC
	Muslim
	Jewish
	Hindu
	None
	Other

Sexual orientation:

	Heterosexual/ 'straight'
	Homosexual/ gay or lesbian
	Bisexual
	Other

Relationship status:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Single
<input type="checkbox"/>	Married
<input type="checkbox"/>	Divorced
<input type="checkbox"/>	Separated
<input type="checkbox"/>	Co-habiting with partner
<input type="checkbox"/>	In relationship but not co-habiting with partner

Are you a parent?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes
<input type="checkbox"/>	No

Are any of your friends or family members homosexual/ gay or lesbian?

<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes
<input type="checkbox"/>	No

University of Cape Town

In response to each of the following statements, please circle the number that most closely represents your opinion.

1. Lesbians just can't fit into our society.

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
strongly disagree				neither agree nor disagree				strongly agree

2. Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should *not* be condemned.

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
strongly disagree				neither agree nor disagree				strongly agree

3. Female homosexuality is a sin.

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
strongly disagree				neither agree nor disagree				strongly agree

4. Male homosexuality is a perversion.

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
strongly disagree				neither agree nor disagree				strongly agree

5. Government laws should not regulate private, consenting lesbian behavior.

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
strongly disagree				neither agree nor disagree				strongly agree

6. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
strongly disagree				neither agree nor disagree				strongly agree

7. Female homosexuality in itself is not a problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
strongly disagree				neither agree nor disagree				strongly agree

8. Homosexual behaviour between two men is just plain wrong.

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
strongly disagree				neither agree nor disagree				strongly agree

9. Lesbians are perverted.

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
strongly disagree				neither agree nor disagree				strongly agree

10. Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.

+4	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
strongly disagree				neither agree nor disagree				strongly agree

Appendix 4: Technical Procedures of Q Methodology

(A) Correlation

The correlation matrix represents a comparison between individual Q sorts, in this case a matrix of 44 x 44. These correlations are calculated by comparing each respondent's Q sort on an item by item basis, then squaring the difference between the scores and finally summing the totals. This process is replicated for every respondent in relation to every other respondent until the correlation matrix is completed.

As an example, the correlation between respondents 1 and 2 from the current study is demonstrated in the table below:

Table 1: Correlation between Respondents 1 and 2

Item	Resp.1	Resp. 2	Difference	Difference ²
1	1	4	-3	9
2	0	2	-2	4
3	5	5	0	0
4	0	5	-5	25
....				
48	-1	0	-1	1
Σ			8	64

The correlation matrix for this study is presented at the end of this appendix. This provides an overview of the respondents which share common opinions on the issue of same-sex marriage, with 1.00 indicating a perfect positive correlation and -1.00 representing a perfect negative correlation. For example, the correlation between respondents 3 and 9 is .80 which indicates that these 2 respondents share similar views on same-sex marriage. It may be interesting to note further that both respondents are white and heterosexual with homosexual friends or family members, that neither are parents nor claim a religious affiliation. The differences between them are that respondent 3 is female, 20 years old and single while respondent 10 is male, 30 years old and cohabits with his partner. While the facts that one can glean from a correlation matrix are interesting and potentially useful, its real utility in factor analysis is that factors can be extracted from it.

(B) Factor Extraction

Once the correlation matrix has undergone factor analysis (either centroid or principal components analysis), the factors that are produced represent specific shared opinions on the issue of same-sex marriage. Significant factors must then be extracted for rotation.

In R methodology, the most commonly utilised statistical conventions are “to extract only those factors with eigenvalues in excess of 1.00 or, alternatively, to accept only those factors with at least two significant loadings” (Kitzinger, 1987, p. 85). However, Kitzinger (1987) and Brown (1980) both point to the dangers of uncritically applying these conventions when considering the significance of factors in a study utilising Q methodology. The first reason for caution is that eigenvalues (the sum of the squared loadings for each factor) are partially a function of the *number* of respondents associated with a factor and thus may be inflated by a large number of *insignificant* factor loadings. Secondly, within a Q methodological framework there “is no special utility in having a large number of persons defining any one factor: after about four or five people have done so, further additions merely serve to fill up factor space without altering in any way the a factor array or interpretation.” (Kitzinger, 1987, p.85).

McKeown and Thomas (1988) highlight the possibility, or even the necessity, of including a factor with a single significant loading if the respondent has particular salience within the study.

(C) Determining the Factor Array

In order to generate a factor array or model Q sort for each factor, it is important to understand the factor as a composite of those Q sorts that define it. However, “some are closer approximations of the factor than others” (Brown, 1992, p.22) and the defining Q sorts are weighted to reflect this fact. This is more precise than calculating the average score of the defining sorts for each statement.

For example, the sorts that define Factor B have the following factor loadings:

Table 2: Selected Q Sort Factor Loadings (Factor B)

Resp	Factors		
	1	2	3
20	-.20	<u>.65</u>	-.20
21	-.20	<u>.74</u>	.05
22	-.31	<u>.71</u>	.11
23	.04	<u>.72</u>	.09

* underlined loadings are significant at $p < .01$

Each Q sort is weighted according to the following formula:

$$w = f / (1 - f^2)$$

w = weight and f = factor loading

The weighting for each respondent defining Factor B is calculated below:

$$\text{Respondent 20 } .65 / (1 - .65^2) = 1.13$$

$$\text{Respondent 21 } .74 / (1 - .74^2) = 1.64$$

$$\text{Respondent 22 } .71 / (1 - .72^2) = 1.50$$

$$\text{Respondent 23 } .72 / (1 - .71^2) = 1.43$$

From these figures, it can be seen that Respondent 22 is given the most weight to reflect the fact that this Q sort was the closest approximation to the opinion on same-sex marriage represented by Factor B.

The weighting of each defining sort is then multiplied by it's score on each statement.

A weighted composite is calculated for all 48 statements in the Q sort by adding together the weighting*score for each defining sort.

For Factor B, the weighted composite for item 1 would be calculated as follows:

Table 3: Factor B – Calculating the Weighted Composite for Item 1

Resp. Number	Factor Loading	Score Item 1	x	Weight	Total
20	.65	-5	x	1.13	-5.65
21	.74	-4	x	1.64	-6.56
22	.71	-4	x	1.50	-6.00
23	.72	1	x	1.43	1.43
Weighted composite for Item 1					-16.78

This weighted composite is then converted into a Z score of -1.296.

This procedure is repeated for all of the items in the Q sample, until a Z score exists for each statement in the Q sample. The Z scores are then returned to the original Q sort format by assigning the statements with the 3 highest scores to the +5 category, assigning the statements with the next 4 highest scores to the +4 category, and so on until the Q sort format has been replicated (Brown, 1992). This is called the model Q sort or factor array for Factor B. A factor array is created for each factor to facilitate the identification of statements that define each factor and those that distinguish between factors. (McKeown and Thomas, 1988). This is demonstrated in the table below.

Table 4: Comparison of Statements across Factor Arrays

Statement	No.	Factor Arrays		
		A	B	C
It is time for the condemnation of homosexuals to end and for loving same-sex couples to have their relationships recognized and blessed within their religious communities.	2	2	-5	1
Religious communities should <i>not</i> accept same-sex marriage, even if the state legalizes it.	8	-1	5	-5
Same-sex marriage is necessary in order for gay and lesbian life-partners to automatically access the full range of legal rights and duties that apply to married couples (e.g. inheritance rights, duty of mutual support, etc.).	10	5	0	4

From this small selection of statements, it appears that Factors A and C espouse fairly similar opinions on same-sex marriage but that both differ greatly from Factor B.

The full factor arrays for the factors in this study are represented below:

Factor Array for Factor A

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
14	13	7	5	8	16	4	1	33	3	9
21	15	22	6	29	17	18	2	35	12	10
24	23	38	40	32	19	34	20	36	27	11
	45	39	46	37	25	42	26	43	28	
			47	48	30	44	41			
					31					

Factor Array for Factor B

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
2	1	4	17	3	10	11	23	31	5	6
19	20	15	27	14	12	13	29	37	7	8
25	26	28	32	21	16	18	38	40	9	24
	41	42	34	43	30	39	46	48	22	
			36	44	33	45	47			
					35					

Factor Array for Factor C

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
8	5	7	6	4	1	2	20	3	10	16
19	21	26	17	12	9	13	34	11	18	31
47	24	39	32	14	15	40	36	28	22	33
	29	45	37	25	23	43	42	41	30	
			46	27	35	44	48			
					38					

Correlation Matrix Between Sorts

SORTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
Resp. 1	100	64	70	60	71	56	52	73	61	56	79	74	57	72	62	66	65	74	-29	-40	-33	-46	-19	49	8	13	-11
Resp. 2	64	100	74	73	65	64	67	68	75	60	67	74	73	70	74	65	67	63	-46	-39	-44	-49	-26	39	10	15	-12
Resp. 3	70	74	100	72	76	70	68	80	80	64	82	87	76	73	79	81	75	80	-33	-40	-38	-50	-10	49	25	33	-5
Resp. 4	60	73	72	100	75	68	77	77	59	68	68	79	79	61	68	63	68	76	-41	-21	-30	-34	-16	40	15	27	-3
Resp. 5	71	65	76	75	100	60	68	76	60	58	74	79	69	73	63	64	64	70	-26	-21	-14	-28	-5	45	15	19	-4
Resp. 6	56	64	70	68	60	100	59	59	66	47	62	66	58	64	53	62	51	73	-32	-41	-27	-43	-5	36	16	21	-7
Resp. 7	52	67	68	77	68	59	100	62	59	64	60	75	71	56	68	75	60	71	-23	-41	-28	-24	-23	47	33	24	16
Resp. 8	73	68	80	77	76	59	62	100	67	50	84	82	66	79	71	77	82	81	-35	-29	-36	-45	-15	54	4	34	2
Resp. 9	61	75	80	59	60	66	59	67	100	56	71	75	70	68	73	75	58	68	-35	-38	-36	-41	-9	43	16	33	10
Resp.10	56	60	64	68	58	47	64	50	56	100	52	68	71	38	68	52	56	59	-36	-26	-42	-27	-26	37	22	20	8
Resp.11	79	67	82	68	74	62	60	84	71	52	100	80	63	75	74	82	81	85	-31	-37	-34	-49	-19	57	3	25	9
Resp.12	74	74	87	79	79	66	75	82	75	68	80	100	75	77	79	78	76	85	-34	-37	-40	-36	-12	49	22	39	3
Resp.13	57	73	76	79	69	58	71	66	70	71	63	75	100	56	72	64	56	68	-36	-29	-38	-42	-12	46	28	20	-3
Resp.14	72	70	73	61	73	64	56	79	68	38	75	77	56	100	57	71	73	73	-23	-37	-24	-31	-5	44	-1	30	-13
Resp.15	62	74	79	68	63	53	68	71	73	68	74	79	72	57	100	76	73	68	-33	-33	-36	-38	-15	56	17	37	8
Resp.16	66	65	81	63	64	62	75	77	75	52	82	78	64	71	76	100	74	82	-30	-54	-41	-37	-14	53	20	26	3
Resp.17	65	67	75	68	64	51	60	82	58	56	81	76	56	73	73	74	100	76	-34	-28	-40	-34	-27	51	-1	37	-4
Resp.18	74	63	80	76	70	73	71	81	68	59	85	85	68	73	68	82	76	100	-37	-39	-28	-37	-9	51	15	28	-5
Resp.19	-29	-46	-33	-41	-26	-32	-23	-35	-35	-36	-31	-34	-36	-23	-33	-30	-34	-37	100	21	37	30	33	-25	3	-11	18
Resp.20	-40	-39	-40	-21	-21	-41	-41	-29	-38	-26	-37	-37	-29	-37	-33	-54	-28	-39	21	100	51	44	25	-26	-17	-6	6
Resp.21	-33	-44	-38	-30	-14	-27	-28	-36	-36	-42	-34	-40	-38	-24	-36	-41	-40	-28	37	51	100	39	57	-31	-8	3	6
Resp.22	-46	-49	-50	-34	-28	-43	-24	-45	-41	-27	-49	-36	-42	-31	-38	-37	-34	-37	30	44	39	100	39	-25	15	10	14
Resp.23	-19	-26	-10	-16	-5	-5	-23	-15	-9	-26	-19	-12	-12	-5	-15	-14	-27	-9	33	25	57	39	100	-25	22	5	-12
Resp.24	49	39	49	40	45	36	47	54	43	37	57	49	46	44	56	53	51	51	-25	-26	-31	-25	-25	100	25	36	30
Resp.25	8	10	25	15	15	16	33	4	16	22	3	22	28	-1	17	20	-1	15	3	-17	-8	15	22	25	100	14	14
Resp.26	13	15	33	27	19	21	24	34	33	20	25	39	20	30	37	26	37	28	-11	-6	3	10	5	36	14	100	39
Resp.27	-11	-12	-5	-3	-4	-7	16	2	10	8	9	3	-3	-13	8	3	-4	-5	18	6	6	14	-12	30	14	39	100
Resp.28	20	28	29	12	22	20	31	20	29	15	22	19	21	26	22	30	16	28	0	-26	8	-22	1	27	34	14	-8
Resp.29	82	69	83	67	69	63	68	75	72	63	78	82	69	76	70	76	70	76	-36	-54	-46	-45	-28	58	17	31	-5
Resp.30	70	65	67	54	60	51	55	66	54	54	66	70	57	62	59	66	58	64	-23	-63	-42	-69	-28	41	4	12	-1
Resp.31	76	67	78	61	59	57	59	80	73	50	77	74	71	76	70	76	71	76	-32	-47	-43	-49	-17	63	15	34	1
Resp.32	64	69	78	64	70	66	69	69	58	56	65	71	69	58	71	73	61	70	-36	-51	-40	-53	-19	57	34	12	-15
Resp.33	71	71	83	70	69	63	67	71	71	76	75	81	74	64	69	74	69	76	-45	-41	-56	-43	-30	47	19	20	-3
Resp.34	41	35	43	35	33	20	44	41	36	26	40	46	43	53	46	45	41	39	-8	-18	-12	-7	8	46	31	40	13
Resp.35	37	32	42	37	54	34	43	50	33	19	49	53	24	49	46	50	55	44	2	-9	9	-5	13	31	-2	42	11
Resp.36	75	65	83	74	79	64	72	84	63	66	83	88	73	73	76	81	77	82	-25	-47	-37	-45	-12	59	21	36	5
Resp.37	-68	-62	-76	-62	-61	-61	-57	-71	-65	-62	-67	-66	-70	-58	-68	-69	-56	-70	43	52	52	58	30	-51	-12	-14	9
Resp.38	-62	-74	-70	-68	-59	-54	-59	-65	-70	-66	-69	-66	-74	-59	-61	-68	-66	-60	41	42	64	51	43	-37	-4	-9	-1
Resp.39	-61	-60	-67	-48	-46	-47	-53	-66	-60	-42	-74	-57	-51	-51	-56	-69	-64	-63	37	58	52	75	47	-52	3	-20	-4
Resp.40	-65	-53	-66	-54	-49	-53	-39	-63	-53	-47	-60	-57	-49	-57	-50	-55	-56	-61	35	50	53	65	42	-37	21	-12	14
Resp.41	70	71	86	62	69	56	69	78	69	57	77	77	67	67	80	79	74	75	-26	-50	-39	-53	-25	61	26	36	11
Resp.42	63	50	71	57	64	46	60	76	53	50	70	74	59	70	61	75	68	68	-18	-42	-48	-36	-23	56	18	35	-1
Resp.43	58	48	69	47	49	43	54	65	49	35	64	61	44	50	57	68	60	60	-23	-48	-43	-46	-28	57	26	27	0
Resp.44	66	60	76	65	67	55	69	75	62	69	75	75	70	64	77	77	71	72	-29	-44	-32	-50	-21	66	18	34	18

These figures are extracted from a complete 44 x 44 correlation matrix.

Unrotated Factor Matrix

	Factors							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SORTS								
Resp. 1	0.8143	-0.0453	-0.1080	-0.1364	0.1168	-0.0496	-0.0780	0.0512
Resp. 2	0.8088	-0.0935	-0.2349	0.1506	-0.0212	-0.0363	0.2178	-0.0300
Resp. 3	0.9181	0.0743	-0.0905	0.0531	0.0743	-0.0075	0.0102	-0.0636
Resp. 4	0.7958	0.1018	-0.3339	0.1433	-0.1953	0.0936	-0.0188	0.0771
Resp. 5	0.7918	0.2235	-0.3013	-0.0243	0.0336	0.1841	-0.1136	0.1539
Resp. 6	0.7178	0.0155	-0.2521	0.0935	0.1268	0.0933	0.0946	-0.2409
Resp. 7	0.7759	0.1998	0.0158	0.2620	-0.0815	0.2077	-0.0677	0.0029
Resp. 8	0.8798	0.1005	-0.1106	-0.2261	-0.0478	-0.0466	-0.0309	0.0908
Resp. 9	0.7954	0.0606	-0.0900	0.0976	-0.0385	-0.0414	0.2909	-0.3098
Resp. 10	0.7008	-0.0244	-0.1350	0.3667	-0.3027	0.1881	-0.0476	0.0516
Resp. 11	0.8808	0.0598	-0.0560	-0.2291	-0.0261	0.0383	0.0236	0.0130
Resp. 12	0.9055	0.1822	-0.1453	0.0128	-0.0787	0.0014	-0.1023	-0.0874
Resp. 13	0.8025	0.0487	-0.1810	0.3365	-0.0915	0.0540	0.0485	0.0144
Resp. 14	0.7965	0.1626	-0.1960	-0.2591	0.1383	-0.2142	0.0392	-0.1191
Resp. 15	0.8334	0.1503	-0.0104	0.0757	-0.1430	0.0340	0.0781	0.0300
Resp. 16	0.8759	0.1020	0.0673	-0.0321	0.0685	-0.0312	-0.0746	-0.1327
Resp. 17	0.8208	0.0835	-0.0900	-0.2442	-0.1756	-0.1287	-0.0554	0.1281
Resp. 18	0.8715	0.1243	-0.1553	-0.0527	0.0612	-0.0059	-0.0248	-0.0037
Resp. 19	-0.4085	0.3300	0.2103	-0.1797	0.2567	0.3815	-0.2599	-0.2191
Resp. 20	-0.5210	0.3332	-0.3503	-0.0851	-0.3170	0.0325	0.0646	0.4005
Resp. 21	-0.4929	0.5575	-0.1984	-0.1857	0.2522	0.2579	0.2561	0.1619
Resp. 22	-0.5508	0.5445	-0.0860	0.1316	-0.2328	-0.2123	-0.2763	-0.0724
Resp. 23	-0.2670	0.6188	-0.2787	0.0334	0.4131	-0.0531	-0.0352	-0.2379
Resp. 24	0.6255	0.1612	0.4295	-0.0237	-0.1464	-0.0882	0.0421	0.3061
Resp. 25	0.1844	0.3862	0.3192	0.6919	0.2061	-0.0669	-0.2147	-0.0040
Resp. 26	0.3252	0.5025	0.2871	-0.1861	-0.3208	-0.2046	0.2201	-0.1567
Resp. 27	0.0067	0.3163	0.5179	-0.0242	-0.5435	0.3933	0.1581	-0.2119
Resp. 28	0.3103	0.2022	0.2624	0.2251	0.5116	0.0144	0.4694	0.2313
Resp. 29	0.9030	-0.0253	0.0358	-0.0059	0.0439	-0.1169	-0.0467	-0.0437
Resp. 30	0.8008	-0.2371	0.1106	-0.1297	0.1927	0.2485	-0.0366	-0.0613
Resp. 31	0.8735	0.0238	0.1359	-0.1069	0.0723	-0.1861	0.0535	-0.0262
Resp. 32	0.8347	-0.0532	0.0275	0.1981	0.2345	0.0823	-0.1100	0.1824
Resp. 33	0.8677	-0.0956	-0.0937	0.1958	-0.1024	-0.0645	-0.0847	0.0021
Resp. 34	0.4754	0.4442	0.2090	0.0586	-0.0114	-0.4016	0.1357	-0.0149
Resp. 35	0.4608	0.5155	-0.0699	-0.4249	0.0088	0.1348	-0.0456	0.0192
Resp. 36	0.9161	0.1621	0.0263	-0.0562	0.0399	0.0985	-0.1171	0.0206
Resp. 37	-0.8350	0.2620	-0.0402	-0.0711	-0.1103	-0.0283	-0.0471	-0.0353
Resp. 38	-0.7836	0.2793	0.1272	-0.1225	0.2380	-0.0072	-0.0648	0.1496
Resp. 39	-0.7779	0.3583	-0.2578	0.1886	-0.0320	-0.0523	-0.1021	-0.0118
Resp. 40	-0.7218	0.4647	0.0338	0.2335	-0.0189	-0.0179	-0.0326	0.0926
Resp. 41	0.9023	0.0549	0.2100	-0.0035	0.0948	0.0858	0.0525	0.0596
Resp. 42	0.8092	0.0671	0.1804	-0.1612	0.0194	-0.0827	-0.3249	0.0517
Resp. 43	0.7325	-0.0761	0.3343	-0.0967	0.1168	-0.0930	-0.2721	0.0978
Resp. 44	0.8678	0.1113	0.1770	-0.0246	-0.0390	0.1588	0.0329	0.1147

Appendix 5: Q Sort Loadings on Rotated Factors

QSORT	Factor A	Factor B	Factor C
Resp. 1	(0.73)	-0.36	0.12
Resp. 2	(0.78)	-0.33	-0.00
Resp. 3	(0.84)	-0.32	0.24
Resp. 4	(0.86)	-0.13	0.04
Resp. 5	(0.86)	-0.05	0.13
Resp. 6	(0.73)	-0.20	0.02
Resp. 7	(0.69)	-0.21	0.35
Resp. 8	(0.82)	-0.27	0.23
Resp. 9	(0.73)	-0.27	0.19
Resp. 10	(0.65)	-0.28	0.08
Resp. 11	(0.78)	-0.33	0.24
Resp. 12	(0.88)	-0.21	0.26
Resp. 13	(0.78)	-0.24	0.12
Resp. 14	(0.80)	-0.15	0.18
Resp. 15	(0.74)	-0.26	0.32
Resp. 16	(0.73)	-0.35	0.36
Resp. 17	(0.76)	-0.27	0.21
Resp. 18	(0.84)	-0.23	0.20
Resp. 19	(-0.38)	0.34	0.24
Resp. 20	-0.20	(0.65)	-0.20
Resp. 21	-0.20	(0.74)	0.05
Resp. 22	-0.31	(0.71)	0.11
Resp. 23	0.04	(0.72)	0.09
Resp. 24	0.35	-0.36	(0.59)
Resp. 25	0.08	0.07	(0.52)
Resp. 26	0.24	0.11	(0.61)
Resp. 27	-0.18	0.00	(0.58)
Resp. 28	0.18	-0.10	(0.41)
Resp. 29	(0.74)	(-0.45)	0.26
Resp. 30	(0.57)	(-0.60)	0.16
Resp. 31	(0.68)	(-0.44)	0.36
Resp. 32	(0.68)	(-0.43)	0.22
Resp. 33	(0.76)	(-0.42)	0.12
Resp. 34	(0.39)	0.03	(0.56)
Resp. 35	(0.53)	0.22	(0.39)
Resp. 36	(0.80)	-0.30	(0.38)
Resp. 37	(-0.63)	(0.60)	-0.11
Resp. 38	(-0.67)	(0.51)	0.04
Resp. 39	(-0.46)	(0.74)	-0.19
Resp. 40	(-0.53)	(0.67)	0.10
Resp. 41	(0.67)	(-0.46)	(0.44)
Resp. 42	(0.61)	(-0.40)	(0.40)
Resp. 43	(0.44)	(-0.54)	(0.41)
Resp. 44	(0.67)	(-0.39)	(0.44)

Note: Factor loadings in parentheses are significant at $p < 0.01$
 Factor loadings in bold indicate defining Q sorts

Appendix 6: Final Q Sample Structure & Statements with Factor Array Scores

Factor Structure	Item No.	Statement	A	B	C
ac	1	Religious communities should bless unions based on love, commitment and honesty - regardless of whether the couple is heterosexual or homosexual.	2	-4	0
ac	2	It is time for the condemnation of homosexuals to end and for loving same-sex couples to have their relationships recognized and blessed within their religious communities.	2	-5	1
ac	3	Marriage is not just about procreation (having children). Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to marry despite the fact that they are not able to produce children.	4	-1	3
ac	4	Gay and lesbian people who are deeply religious should be allowed to have their unions blessed in a marriage ceremony.	1	-3	-1
bc	5	Since homosexuals cannot procreate naturally, in the way that God intended, they should not be allowed to get married.	-2	4	-4
bc	6	The practice of homosexuality is an abomination in the eyes of God. Religious communities should not encourage same-sex relationships and should definitely not bless them in any way.	-2	5	-2
bc	7	If God wanted homosexuals to marry one another He would have created 'Adam and Steve' instead of 'Adam and Eve'.	-3	4	-3
bc	8	Religious communities should not accept same-sex marriage, even if the state legalizes it.	-1	5	-5
ad	9	It is unconstitutional to deny same-sex couples the right to marry since this is unfair discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation.	5	4	0
ad	10	Same-sex marriage is necessary in order for gay and lesbian life-partners to automatically access the full range of legal rights and duties that apply to married couples (e.g. inheritance rights, duty of mutual support, etc.).	5	0	4
ad	11	Under our present Constitution, same-sex couples should be given the right to marry in recognition of their right to dignity and respect.	5	1	3
ad	12	Same-sex marriage should be legalized because the right to marry is a fundamental human right.	4	0	-1
bd	13	There is no need for same-sex marriage. Homosexuals already have the right to get married - just not to someone of the same sex.	-4	1	1
bd	14	Same-sex relationships cannot meet the standards of marriage (e.g. monogamy, fidelity and mutual support) and therefore should not receive the legal benefits of marriage.	-5	-1	-1
bd	15	Same-sex marriage should not be legal because homosexuals are likely to abuse it by creating marriages of convenience in order to access the legal benefits of marriage.	-4	-3	0
bd	16	Same-sex marriage is not necessary. Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to register their relationships as domestic partnerships in order to receive the same legal rights as married people.	0	0	5
ae	17	Society would benefit from same-sex marriage because it would help reduce promiscuity in the gay community (especially among men).	0	-2	-2
ae	18	If same-sex couples could marry, their families and communities would find it easier to accept them. Such acceptance would be good for the self-esteem of lesbian and gay people, would minimise disruption to families and would therefore help maintain a stable society.	1	1	4
ae	19	Same-sex marriage would strengthen the institution of marriage because more people would accept that marriage is an important institution for a stable society.	0	-5	-5
ae	20	Marriage by definition involves a relationship between two people over time, which includes a sexual relationship, the possibility of	2	-4	2

		bringing up children, expectations of mutual support and a ceremony which recognises the union. Gay and lesbian couples are able to meet these criteria and should therefore be allowed to marry.			
be	21	Marriage is a long-term, monogamous union which should not be extended to homosexuals (especially men) since they are naturally promiscuous and unable to remain true to a marriage commitment.	-5	-1	-4
be	22	Marriage by definition is a union between a man and a woman. Gay marriage is therefore nonsensical.	-3	4	4
be	23	Marriage as an institution is under threat from high divorce rates and increasing levels of single parenting. Opening marriage up to homosexual couples would undermine heterosexual marriage even further.	-4	2	0
be	24	The relationships of homosexuals should not be recognized as marriages because the sexual acts and lifestyle choices of homosexuals are unnatural and immoral.	-5	5	-4
af	25	Same-sex marriage would be beneficial because it would provide heterosexual couples with a model of a union that has more equal gender roles.	0	-5	-1
af	26	Same-sex marriage would be a positive development as it would open the way for a radical transformation of the institution of marriage.	2	-4	-3
af	27	The legalization of same-sex marriage would lead to greater acceptance of diversity. This has the potential to positively transform our society.	4	-2	-1
af	28	Same-sex marriage should be legalised as it would acknowledge the legitimacy of gay and lesbian relationships.	4	-3	3
bf	29	Same-sex marriage would not be beneficial because it would lead gay and lesbian people into the mainstream and destroy independent gay culture.	-1	2	-4
bf	30	Same-sex marriage should not be legalized because it would entrench marriage as the only acceptable relationship choice and marginalize all alternative lifestyle choices.	0	0	4
bf	31	Gay and lesbian couples should not work towards inclusion in the heterosexual model of marriage but should create positive, alternative 'family structures' for themselves.	0	3	5
bf	32	Same-sex marriage should not be legalized because it would result in a different form of discrimination against gay and lesbian people. Those who were unable to find a long-term partner and those who chose not to get married would continue to be treated as outsiders in their families, communities and in the eyes of the law.	-1	-2	-2
ag	33	Children are already being raised by gay and lesbian people. Same-sex marriage would benefit these children because it would provide social recognition for their families.	3	0	5
ag	34	Same-sex marriage would encourage gay and lesbian families to stay together. This is important because children function better if they come from 2 parent homes, regardless of whether their parents are heterosexual or homosexual.	1	-2	2
ag	35	Same-sex marriage would be beneficial because children raised in gay and lesbian families would be financially protected in the event of a separation or divorce.	3	0	0
ag	36	Same-sex marriage would be very positive for gay and lesbian youth because they would feel that their relationships are valued in society and it would provide a model of the families they could also aim to create.	3	-2	2
bg	37	Same-sex marriages would not be good for children because children need both male and female role models to ensure healthy development.	-1	3	-2
bg	38	Same-sex marriage should not be allowed because this will encourage homosexuals to have children. This is not in the best interests of any child.	-3	2	0
bg	39	Same-sex marriage is a bad idea because children raised within same-sex marriages are more likely to become homosexuals	-3	1	-3

		themselves.			
bg	40	Children need to have a strong sense of family values and should not be confused by too many alternatives (like gay marriages).	-2	3	1
ah	41	Same-sex marriage should be integrated into existing cultural norms.	2	-4	3
ah	42	Same-sex marriage is becoming acceptable in many cultures and there is no reason that it should be rejected here.	1	-3	2
ah	43	Gay and lesbian people exist in every culture and should therefore be allowed to share in the culturally endorsed practice of marriage.	3	-1	1
ah	44	In view of the fact that cultural beliefs about male and female roles have changed considerably, same-sex marriage would not be anomalous.	1	-1	1
bh	45	In my culture, men must behave like men and women must behave like women. Marriage between people of the same-sex should therefore not be allowed because it would be socially disruptive.	-4	1	-3
bh	46	Permitting same-sex marriage would be an unacceptable violation of cultural norms.	-2	2	-2
bh	47	Same-sex marriage is an idea that originated in other cultures and it should not be forced on our culture.	-2	2	-5
bh	48	Same-sex marriage should not be legalized because in my culture same-sex marriage will never be accepted as equivalent to heterosexual marriage.	-1	3	2

Appendix 7: Factor Loadings with Demographic Data & ATLG-S Scores

(Note: Factor loadings +/- .37 are significant at $p < .01$ and are underlined)

RESP	FACTORS*			SEX	AGE	RACE	RELIGION	REL.	PAR.	EXP.	ATLG-S
	A	B	C								
1	<u>.73</u>	-.36	.12	M	22	Black	Christian D.	N	Y	N	49
2	<u>.78</u>	-.33	.00	F	21	Black	Christian D.	N	N	Y	19
3	<u>.84</u>	-.32	.24	F	20	White	None	N	N	Y	13
4	<u>.86</u>	-.13	.04	M	22	White	Christian D.	N	N	N	14
5	<u>.86</u>	-.05	.13	F	21	White	Christian D.	N	N	Y	21
6	<u>.73</u>	-.20	.02	F	23	White	Jewish	Y	N	Y	16
7	<u>.69</u>	-.21	.35	M	28	White	None	Y	N	Y	23
8	<u>.82</u>	-.27	.23	M	30	White	None	Y	N	Y	12
9	<u>.73</u>	-.27	.19	M	23	Black	Christian D.	Y	N	N	34
10	<u>.65</u>	-.28	.08	F	21	White	Christian D.	Y	N	Y	24
11	<u>.78</u>	-.33	.24	F	20	White	None	Y	N	Y	16
12	<u>.88</u>	-.21	.26	F	21	Colour.	Evangelical	Y	N	Y	18
13	<u>.78</u>	-.24	.12	F	23	Black	None	N	N	Y	46
14	<u>.80</u>	-.15	.18	M	23	Indian	Muslim	N	N	Y	14
15	<u>.74</u>	-.26	.32	F	24	White	Christian D.	Y	N	Y	16
16	<u>.73</u>	-.35	.36	F	23	White	None	Y	N	Y	13
17	<u>.76</u>	-.27	.21	F	23	White	None	N	N	Y	27
18	<u>.84</u>	-.23	.20	M	22	Indian	Muslim	Y	N	Y	45
19	<u>-.38</u>	.34	.24	F	20	Black	Christian D.	Y	N	Y	43
20	-.20	<u>.65</u>	-.20	F	23	Black	Evangelical	N	N	N	77
21	-.20	<u>.74</u>	.05	M	22	Colour.	Muslim	N	N	N	68
22	-.31	<u>.71</u>	.11	M	22	White	Evangelical	Y	N	Y	76
23	.04	<u>.72</u>	.09	F	22	White	Christian D.	Y	N	Y	47
24	.35	-.36	<u>.59</u>	F	34	White	Jewish	N	N	Y	29
25	.08	.07	<u>.52</u>	F	20	White	Christian D.	N	N	Y	40
26	.24	.11	<u>.61</u>	M	22	White	Christian D.	Y	N	N	51
27	-.18	.00	<u>.58</u>	F	24	Indian	Christian D.	Y	N	Y	38
28	.18	-.10	<u>.41</u>	F	21	Black	Christian D.	N	N	Y	37
29	<u>.74</u>	<u>-.45</u>	.26	F	21	White	Jewish	Y	N	Y	11
30	<u>.57</u>	<u>-.60</u>	.16	F	21	White	Christian D.	N	N	Y	20
31	<u>.68</u>	<u>-.44</u>	.36	F	21	White	Christian D.	Y	N	Y	21
32	<u>.68</u>	<u>-.43</u>	.22	F	21	White	None	Y	N	N	16
33	<u>.76</u>	<u>-.42</u>	.12	F	24	White	Christian D.	Y	N	Y	30
34	<u>.39</u>	.03	<u>.56</u>	F	22	White	Jewish	N	N	Y	37
35	<u>.53</u>	.22	<u>.39</u>	M	22	White	Christian D.	N	N	Y	23
36	<u>.80</u>	-.30	<u>.38</u>	F	23	White	Christian D.	N	N	Y	27
37	<u>-.63</u>	<u>.60</u>	-.11	F	20	White	Evangelical	Y	N	Y	66
38	<u>-.67</u>	<u>.51</u>	.04	M	24	Black	Christian D.	N	N	N	46
39	<u>-.46</u>	<u>.74</u>	-.19	F	21	White	Evangelical	N	N	Y	75
40	<u>-.53</u>	<u>.67</u>	.10	F	22	White	Christian D.	N	N	N	60
41	<u>.67</u>	<u>-.46</u>	.44	M	23	White	None	N	N	Y	18
42	<u>.61</u>	<u>-.40</u>	<u>.40</u>	F	21	Colour.	None	N	N	Y	88
43	<u>.44</u>	<u>-.54</u>	<u>.41</u>	F	22	White	Christian D.	N	N	Y	26
44	<u>.67</u>	<u>-.39</u>	<u>.44</u>	F	20	White	Christian D.	Y	N	Y	33

* Decimals to 2 places have been omitted

Rel. = Relationships status. Since none of the respondents indicated that they were married, divorced or separated, this category was amended: 'N' equates to 'Single' and 'Y' incorporates 'Co-habiting with partner' and 'In relationship but not co-habiting with partner'

Exp. = (Exposure) Are any of your friends or family members homosexual/ gay or lesbian?